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ABSTRACT

This report describes a conference co-sponsored in April of 1972 by Educational Facilities Laboratory and the Institute for Development of Educational Activities, in which 35 educators met to seek ways of making secondary schools healthier, happier, more productive places for young people. The point was made that since America has produced a new type of adolescent to which the traditional regimented high school is inappropriate, it is necessary to develop a new type of institution to fit the modern student. Several cases illustrative of alternatives to traditional schooling are presented, indicating emphases placed upon individual needs, student choices, the social aspects of schooling, and the value of using other community institutions in addition to the school in the educational program. The final section discusses the elements involved in changing established institutions such as schools, including such matters as money, charisma, the dangers of creating fads, how to break institutional molds, new roles for teachers, leadership, and the overcoming of legal constraints. (PB)

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A REPORT FROM EFL AND /I/D/E/A/

The greening of the high school

The young aren't as young as they used to be
Will there always be a Northeast High?
All schooling is local and situational
N--- breed, new breeding ground
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The greening of the high school

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The greening of

the high school

A report on a conference

by Ruth Weinstock

Conference co-sponsored by Educational Facilities Laboratories and Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc.

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I. About the symposium

We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.

T.S. ELIOT
Four Quartets

On April 11, 1972, a mild spring day, 35 people in various parts of the country left their desks to depart for Airlie House, a conference center 50 miles from Washington, D.C. For the coming three days they would be laying aside the small worries papering their desks. But the big ones, the deep pervading concerns, would be going with them. They were school people—superintendents, principals, teachers, school planners, and architects—and they worked in a field in which worry had become endemic; as much a part of the job as the bruises of a ballplayer or the short breath of a miner.

Even the flight that took them to their meeting held little diversion. As soon as they were settled in their seats, those who browsed through *The New York Times* were caught up once again. Under the head, "Pessimism Voiced in Student Study," was an account of a nationwide survey of college students, sponsored by the John D. Rockefeller III Fund. It had found that 30 percent of college students said they would rather live in some other country than the United States. "The desire to leave," said the report, "reflects an increasing belief among students that American society is a 'sick society'."

A short time later, arriving in Washington's National Airport where they would catch the buses to take them to their meeting place, the conference-bound travelers were greeted by the headline of the *Washington Evening Star*. "SCHOOL DISORDER QUELLED," it said in 96 point type. "75 Youths Arrested at Northwestern High."

"Well," reflected Harold Gores, president of Educational Facilities Laboratories, "that's why we're here." EFL was the sponsor of the symposium, along with /I/D/E/A/ (Institute for Development of Educational Activities), an affiliate of the Charles F. Kettering Foundation. They had joined together in its sponsorship, since EFL's mission is the improvement of the physical and affective aspects of the school environment, and /I/D/E/A/ is concerned with issues in education. Together, they could more comprehensively explore the issue at hand: the future of our secondary schools.

They had designated the symposium, "The Greening of the High School," and the title was more than a conceit. It was to place the emphasis on what the high school *could* be. The ailing condition of that unloved and troubled institution would be well enough known to all the conferees. They would be fully familiar with the conditions which had moved a host of critics to describe secondary schools as "the most absurd part of an educational system pervaded by absurdity." Or as "the natural enemy of adolescents." Or as "a sleeping giant unmoved by the issues swirling around it." They would need no briefing on the conditions that had evoked a spate of books with such titles as *Murder in the Classroom, Death at an Early Age,* and *Our Children are Dyin :.*

Indeed, the purpose of this "greening" parley was not to dwell on the moribund state of America's secondary schools. Rather, it was how to make them healthy, how to infuse them with elements that would turn them green and growing.

The people who had been invited, though limited in number, represented a substantial aggregation of experience, wisdom, and judgement. Together, they might be able to define the healthy elements and, ideally, speak out on ways of introducing them into the mainstream of the nation's high schools.

These superintendents, principals, teachers, architects, and planners were from within the system, but like many outside it, they too questioned the aims, methods, and validity of their own establishment. They considered many of the criticisms leveled at the schools to be sound, and many of the critics themselves to be perceptive and constructive gadflys. The difference between the two groups was an important one, however. In residing outside the system, the critics had little power to change it, while they, engaged in its daily affairs, could affect its shape.

Indeed, many of them had done so in their own school districts. They were, in a sense, from the trenches, and wore the honorable battle scars of all change agents. Some had suffered occasional casualties in the struggle, having

moved too far in advance of their time or their town, and had had to relocate; others, having successfully launched fresh programs and directions in one district, had moved on to pick up new challenges elsewhere. They were restless men and women with a vision of how effective the schools *might* be as an instrument for helping the young find their place in the world. And all of them, regardless of their reservations about the system, were committed to making the schools work.

Their charge, as expressed by Harold Gores who opened the conference, was "to give testimony from the field. We know there are lively things going on out there," he said. "You are all movers and shakers who have developed alternative ways of making the American secondary school more effective, and if we can gather this testimony and make it available to school systems generally, to the people who make decisions about children, these meetings will have been worthwhile."

For the ensuing three days, in a series of intensive sessions, the participants offered evidence that change is possible. They presented nonconforming models of school programs and settings, and how they came to be. They had been asked to discuss alternatives and options in general, and the strategies for bringing them about. That brought them to the anatomy and the politics of change, and to legal constraints. They were asked to discuss the "dejuvenilizing" of high schools, given the earlier growth of adolescents; how school programs and settings could be opened, individualized, and dispersed, but still provide a sense of community; how the school and outside world could be joined to the mutual benefit of each; how the high school could be de-institutionalized and humanized; how its counter-productivity could be reversed.

Again and again the words "open" and "openness" were heard. At a point late in the proceedings, Peter Buttenwieser, director of Philadelphia's Durham Child Development Center, said in his gentle way: "The repetitive emphasis on open space and open education is really our way of expressing a deep

yearning of our own, and recognizing the same in our children, to be opened up to and helped to become more aware of the incredible vistas and possibilities of life; indeed, the total dimensions of life, from joy and ecstasy to poignant, even tragic sadness. An educational facility—a shed, warehouse, museum, resource center or school building—should nurture an understanding and appreciation for the dimensions of life as it is, as it has been, as it might conceivably be."

Such were the themes that the conferees ranged over—and more. The planners of the meeting, knowing that Movers and Shakers do not stick to agendas, had sought to forestall extreme digressions by arranging an agenda-free "Get Things Off Your Chest" session. Get-things-off-their-chests they did one evening, irrepressibly and volubly, around a blazing fireplace in one of Airlie House's small lodges. It was there that they tackled the bedrock question: is high school necessary at all?

If the ironies of that session went unobserved by its participants, it was only because they were so intent on their own probings and asseverations. Unlike Winston Churchill, who once proclaimed that he did not plan to preside over the liquidation of the empire, here were leaders who would welcome the liquidation of the rigidified forms of their own establishment.

There was still another irony: these discussions took place in the lovely foothills of Virginia's Blue Ridge Mountains, close to Monticello, where, 200 years earlier, Thomas Jefferson's proposal for the establishment of public schools in Virginia embodied the first elaborate and specific American recommendation for a modern school system.

The pages that follow contain extracts, sometimes paraphrased and sometimes verbatim, of these "greening" discussions. In some instances, ideas were touched on but had to be passed over, given the exigencies of time: these ideas appear in fragmented form. In other instances—not surprisingly, given the nature of the task—the disquisition led to further questions.

The questions started early on, in fact, with the very title of Harold Howe's keynote paper: "How You Gonna Keep 'Em Down at the School After They've Seen TV?" If anyone might presume to lay answers before the group, who more appropriately than Mr. Howe? As a former teacher, principal, superintendent, United States Commissioner of Education, and now vice president, education and research, The Ford Foundation, Howe's personal history for 25 years had been inseparable from the search for solutions to education's dilemmas. But it was the "expert" Howe who was the first to demur. "I would like to commence this session with the assertion that I feel less confident about how to describe the high school of the future than I do about any other educational institution on which I might consult my cloudy crystal ball. I can't present any neat solutions; nobody knows the answers." It was a sentiment echoed with regularity throughout the conference by all the "experts" present.

But if answers were not abundant, questions were. And since questions carry discourse forward—indeed, they are sometimes the most penetrating of statements—they appear here too. ("What is the answer?" murmured Gertrude Stein on her deathbed. And hearing only silence, she said, "In that case, what is the question?")

It is hoped that the summary offered in these pages provokes ideas and action that will make high schools happier, more productive places for the young. ■

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Airlie House Conference, April 1972

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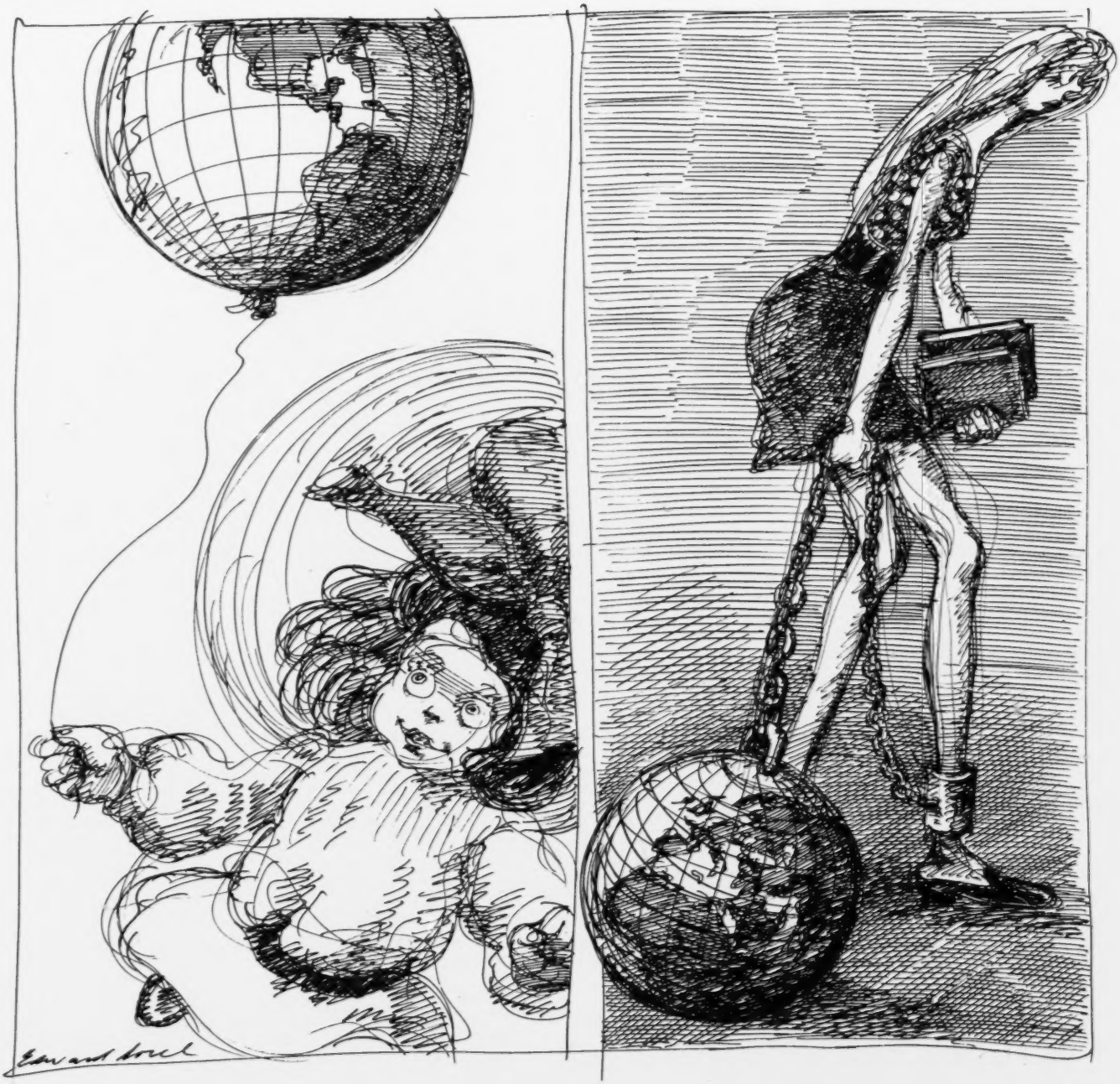
. . . to be young was very heaven.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH
The Prelude

I've never met anyone who wanted to be a teenager again

ENID HAUPT
Editor-in-Chief *Seventeen Magazine*



II. A look at the clients

THE quantity of literature on the subject of adolescence is so great one suspects that if it were placed in the Atlantic Ocean it could turn that vast body into a solid mass. Still, that would not enable us to walk on the water. For great as it is, it tells us less than we need to know.

Knowledge of the subject began to develop in this country about the turn of the century, when the concept of adolescence as a distinct stage of life was first introduced by G. Stanley Hall, then president of Clark University. Today, 70 years and thousands of studies later, we still don't know whether adolescence is an extrinsic or intrinsic happening. We know that pubescence, as a time of biological, endocrine change, is universal. But we do not know whether "adolescence" is a universal, natural developmental stage or whether it is culturally determined. Indeed, there are those scholars who believe it is altogether an invention of western industrial society.

Whatever the answer, it would make little practical difference in the way we operate our high schools. More important is that the body of traditional knowledge about adolescence, which was developed in the first half of the 20th century and still forms the basis for the organization and operation of high schools, is of little practical value today. The reason, of course, is that contemporary youth is as unlike the generations of youth that preceded it as Andy Hardy is from Abbie Hoffman.

New breed, new breeding ground

Among the notable dissimilarities is that today's youngsters become biologically mature at an earlier age. (See p. 19.) Beyond that, they are also exposed at earlier ages to more information and accelerated experience. As a result, they see more, do more, and know more (whether or not they understand more) than their predecessors.

They drive cars and motorcycles, they travel extensively across-country and abroad, they exercise the options of their considerable buying power for ownership of paperbacks, cameras, tape recorders, records, posters, and other artifacts of the culture. They initiate trends in dress, food, music, dance, and life-styles, and in their homes they have more autonomy than any generation of adolescents in the past. With the 18-year-old vote, they now participate in decision-making that affects the life of the nation. In some states they may

marry at 18 without parental consent, enter into binding contracts, and legally buy drinks at bars. Indeed, the downward age-trend of early experience suggests that VD may soon replace chicken pox as a childhood disease.

The young are a new breed, and the world is a new breeding ground. This generation, said Mr. Howe, was the first "to move from birth toward adulthood in the post-World War II period of American society . . . the first generation to live all their conscious lives in the shadow of the atomic bomb, in the midst of an extraordinary growth of affluence that contrasted sharply with a residual poverty, in a time of America's involvement with the world on a totally unprecedented scale, and in a period of social revolution that reawakened, if it did not duplicate, the kinds of tensions this country had experienced in its great Civil War of the 19th century. To add to these disturbing, disrupting influences on the life of the whole nation, but particularly on the first generation to live through them from birth to maturity, was the impact of the information revolution. This resulted in a generation of teenagers who had spent more time before the TV set than they had in school and who had more information, or at least awareness, at their fingertips than had any previous generation in the history of mankind."*

Of all the distinctions, the most telling, perhaps, is that these events seem to have spawned a major philosophical shift in the viewpoint of youth: for the first time, young people have turned pessimistic about the future.

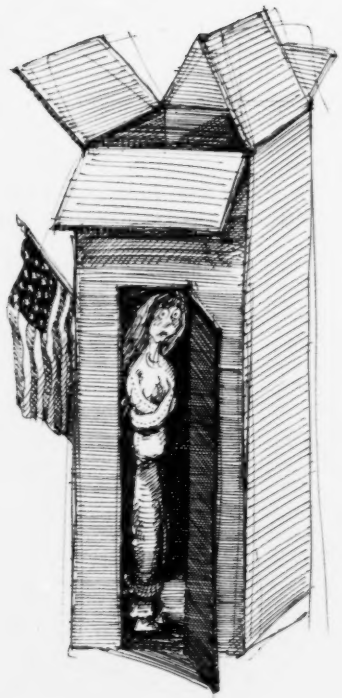
Business as usual: "The pass-to-piss regime"

Meanwhile, back in the schoolhouse (at least in most schoolhouses) apparently undaunted by these discontinuities, the establishment attempts to proceed with business as usual. Though high school buildings may look a little different from those before the war (any war, back to the Spanish-American) with furniture made of plastic rather than wood and facades now of steel and glass, they are essentially no different: same eggcrate arrangement of classrooms, same long echoing hallways, same overall routine. Most high schools are still governed by what David Deitch, *Boston Globe* columnist, calls "The Pass-to-Piss Regime,"—a piece of indelicate eloquence for the authoritarianism that prevails.

The typical high school still provides little choice, or meaningless choices, as to what students shall study, and when, where, and how they may do so. Nor do the strictures stop with the "educational program." They range heavily across other areas as well, from dress codes to hair styles to surveillance of conduct, with capricious judgments of such hazy qualities as "good citizenship." ("Poor citizenship" may be long hair, unauthorized presence in the

*From Harold Howe's keynote address. For the full text, see Appendix.

hallways, a critical editorial in the school paper.) That cardinal offense, leaving the school building during unscheduled hours, prompted one Airlie House participant to remark, "The high school is the only institution in the United States, except the prison, where they count the inmates seven times a day to make sure no one has escaped."



Two worlds

This, then, is the condition which confronts us: though youth is no longer the same, and the world is no longer the same, high schools are essentially unchanged from what they were at the beginning of the century. As a consequence, many adolescents inhabit two worlds: the one outside schoolhouse walls where they exercise considerable self-determination and are involved in life-shaping decisions, and the world inside the walls where every phase of their lives is dictated. (That their own decisions are sometimes unwise or self-damaging simply underscores the point.) The dichotomy becomes absurd indeed when advanced experience outside brings them venereal diseases in epidemic proportions, but inside, as Superintendent Kenny Guinn of Nevada's Clark County schools put it, "They're not allowed to buy an ice cream cone with lunch."

These concerns and what to do about them arose early in the Airlie House discussions when Harold Howe said that if we are to refashion the high school —"to make it green"—we had better start by learning more about this new adolescent: who he is and how he lives and learns.

In fact, he observed, it was the neglect of precisely these matters that weakened the attempted school reforms of the fifties and sixties. "We paid too much attention to organizational aspects of the institution and not nearly enough attention to the doubts and fears and motivations and problems of . . . young people." Those reforms tended to be "either curricular or administrative and to have little base in what some educationists have come to call 'the affective domain'.

"That domain, which embraces the attitudes of young people toward the phenomena in the world around them, toward each other, toward adults, and most important, toward themselves, probably has more to do with the way people behave than the cognitive domain and is, therefore, at least as important. But because it is harder to define, harder to do something about in schools, we typically do not plan our schools . . . to pay serious attention to it."

Later in the conference, Mr. Howe compared the changing nature of the elementary school with the static quality of the high school. And he asserted that this difference, in part, was because the lower schools have responded to the scientific findings about early human development and the ways by which it is encouraged. "But I don't see the same kind of feed-in to the

secondary schools," he said. "Skinner and the behaviorists, the electrochemical biologists, those studying the consequences of early physical maturation, the people like Coleman studying social interaction and its meaning for young people, all have a lot to tell us that could make a difference in what schools do or don't do."

No one would argue, least of all the scientists themselves, that the schools can promise much if the society cannot promise much. Still, if educators understand the psycho-social dynamics of young people in today's society, they can deal more effectively with the symptoms of the malady even if they can't get at the basic causes.

One small example: Kenneth Kenniston has discovered that *motion* and *change*—sheer *movement*—have by themselves become goals for young people; that they fear stasis, viewing it as a trap, and see immobilization, the opposite of motion and change, as equal to death. Among youth in turmoil, movement has become "the quintessential anti-depressant maneuver." Understanding this, schools could respond by designing programs, schedules, and physical settings that do not require students to sit immobile in classrooms for hours each day. Rather, these could be designed so students might move freely and actively about, both within school buildings and out from schools to other places of learning.

Or another example: Jerome Kagen finds that the individualistic competitiveness that captured the energy of earlier adolescents has given way to a search for honesty and intimacy in human encounter—and that youths are finding it increasingly difficult to rationalize working for grades. Understanding this, schools could respond, as Kagan suggests, by promoting more pluralism in the talents that are rewarded and by "celebrating self-improvement as enthusiastically as rises in the rank order." Here too, there are implications for the alteration of standard physical arrangements. The least of these might be the replacement of formal classrooms with the teacher up front, by facilities that allow students to engage in a variety of cooperative pursuits, helping each other as they help themselves.

Again: how can we design effective educational programs and places unless we know what the client is like? The answer is that we can't. Thus, it becomes a priority for the secondary school establishment to construct communication links with those who *do* know and to make their knowledge operative in education.

No one kept score at Airlie House, but in that intellectually volatile group where any issue presented to the 35 participants might easily evoke, say 47 opinions, on this point they were in unanimous agreement. ■

The young aren't as young as they used to be

Biological growth

The average age of menarche (the first appearance of the menses in girls) now begins at least two years and as many as five years earlier than in the past.

Voice change

In the 18th century, in Bach's boys choir, the boys stopped singing soprano because of voice change at an average age of 18. The average age of voice change today is just over 13 years.

Early maturity

Not only does the growth spurt come earlier in life, but growing stops earlier. At the turn of the century, men stopped growing at about 26 years of age. Now, there is little if any growth after the age of 17 or 18.

Sex

Among unmarried girls, more than one-fourth are not virgins by the time they are of an age to graduate from high school.

Motherhood

There are some 200,000 pregnancies per year among high-school-age girls. The rate of illegimate births in this age group has more than doubled since 1940.

Marriage

Over one-fourth of high school age girls are married.

High school people are asking:
"Change to what?"
We've got plenty of "from."
But we don't know what "to."

CHARLES O. RICHTER
Superintendent, West Hartford, Conn. Public Schools

III. An institution to fit the client: Programs

No one expected, nor was the Airlie House conference designed, to produce a consensus on the directions for change. But as it turned out, a fair consensus did emerge on the major issues that were raised.

The principal point of agreement on adjusting high school to the client was the urgency of "dejuvenilizing" (the graceless neologism that had to serve for want of something better). This included wide agreement on the related need to honor each student's individuality—that hoary canon of American educational idealism so seldom translated into school practice. Similarly, everyone conceded the importance of taking account of the volume of education occurring outside the school, though there was considerable conflict on the quality of such education and on how to use it.

What kind of changes might this entail for secondary education? Nobody presumed to have the definitive answer, least of all these sensitive conferees who recognized that the problem demanded not one solution, but many. One thing was agreed: it is no longer a question of unilateral decision by society and its educational surrogates as to what to give high school students. Instead, authority has to work with the client, interact with his needs, desires, and capacities, unite with complementary resources outside the school, and turn the partnership to positive gains for the individual—and society too.

In the course of his keynote address (which, unlike many addresses so dubbed, really telegraphed the major conference themes), Harold Howe offered ten general ideas for a new beginning for the high school. Asking his auditors not to construe these as "Howe's Ten Commandments" but only "one man's jottings about the high school," he proposed the following considerations:

1. Education is not something that takes place only inside a building called a school. It takes place all the time through direct experience as well as through the vicarious experience of learning. School, therefore, must recognize as education the time young people spend outside of school, help them plan its best use, and give credit for it. Many youngsters will do better getting a larger proportion of their education outside the institution we have traditionally called school.

2. Schools must take a much enlarged responsibility for helping young people find jobs and significant volunteer opportunities that have real value to society during the secondary school years,

and schools must give credit toward graduation for these activities.

3. The baby-sitting function of high schools should cease. There are no babies in them. As they drop the custodial function, high schools must take a renewed responsibility for the career interests and choices of young people.

4. Student cooperation in learning should replace competition. Students should engage much more broadly in project work in which they assist and learn from each other. Also, students can be used much more widely as teachers and tutors.

5. Every school system should have a plan for continuous and systematic in-service training for high school teachers and administrators. It should start by developing an understanding of the needs of young adults in today's world and go on to assist teachers with changing their roles and their assumptions about authority.

6. Student participation in the planning of changes, as well as in the daily operation of high schools, should be stimulated, and students should get academic credit for effective participation.

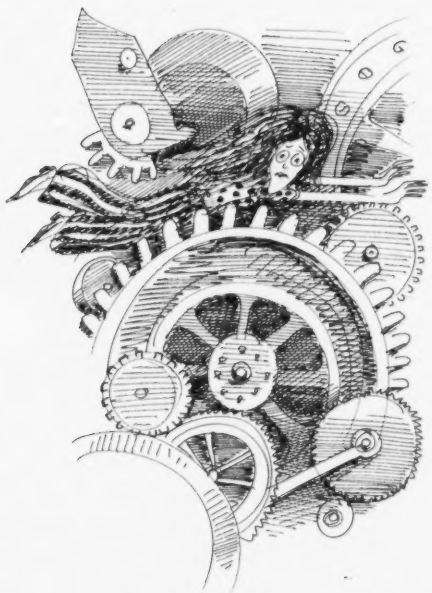
7. Renewed efforts at bringing about associations between high school age students and people the age of their parents are worth trying — particularly in areas where both may be equally adept (analysis of current issues, volunteer work, selected areas of athletics and outdoor recreation, music and drama, and most important of all, planning and carrying out the affairs of the school). Maybe the generation gap is too wide to be bridged, but we'll never be sure unless we try.

8. Academic freedom of the kind that has been so jealously guarded by college professors should be extended to the high school, so that searching conversations on subjects of current interest can take place there. Both student publications and school libraries require the privileges and responsibilities of freedom.

9. The mastery of skills and important fundamental subjects like science, mathematics, foreign languages, and history should be set in a context that highlights the importance of these fields in today's world rather than trying to motivate students by vague generalizations about future utility or requirements for college. High schools would probably prepare better for both college and life if there were much less control of what they do by the colleges.

10. New categories of professional personnel will be needed as students spend more time away from school getting educated.

These "community coordinators" will, along with students, design the bridge between school and community. Since fewer teachers of the usual kind will be necessary, this development should not add costs to the school budget.



Learning has no walls

In stressing his point about the multiple learning resources outside school, Mr. Howe cited an article, "The Children Have Outgrown the Schools," by James S. Coleman.* Mr. Coleman's argument, not far removed from the more extreme viewpoint of Ivan Illich, is that today's schools are obsolete because they are still trying to perform the information-giving function in a society now rich with other information sources (sources that are more exciting, more relevant, more immediate, and that have beaten out the school in competition for the child's attention). At the same time, the schools are failing to address themselves to a critical problem: the uselessness felt by young people in a technological society, where they are no longer needed at home and there is little place in the community either.

Thus, says Coleman, the schools of the future should perform a role more like the one the home and community performed 100 years ago, when young people were given experiences and responsibilities that made them productive and valued members of the family, the community, and the economy. Insofar as information-dispensing is concerned, the schools should play an ancillary role. They must focus instead on strategies for making use of an information-rich environment.

By and large, the conferees accepted the idea that the facts of modern life mandate such a major shift in the high school's raison d'être. August Gold, who heads facilities planning and research for New York City's school system, expressed his agreement in the following prescription for a new high school—coming up with the fanciest word at the conference as he did so. The high school should function in a new "propaedeutic" fashion,** he said, serving as:

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*James S. Coleman, "The Children Have Outgrown the Schools," *Psychology Today*, February, 1972.

**Incidental intelligence for "now" readers: the word harks back to the language of our fathers. It was in vogue just after World War I, when it was given currency by Alexander Inglis, chief interpreter of the American high school. His *Principles of Secondary Education*, published in 1918, argued that the time had come to recognize that secondary education had a raison d'etre of its own. Until then, the prevailing view held that the best way to prepare youngsters for life was to prepare them for college; ergo, the high school's major function was to ready the young for higher studies — to serve, in other words, as a propaedeutic.

1. A warehouse of information and information tools, artifacts, machines, and devices — the wherewithal for "do-it-yourself" learning.

2. A resource station for locating knowledgeable adults who can answer questions and proffer advice when sought.

3. A center where students find similar interest contacts among their peers.

These reasons for creating a new institution called "high school," although generally accepted, did not go unchallenged. The most conservative objection came from that reform leader of the sixties, J. Lloyd Trump, of the National Association of Secondary School Principals. He argued that the answer lay rather in curriculum improvement (a topic he felt the conference largely ignored).

A troublesome objection was also raised by the outspoken Edythe Gaines, director of the New York City Board of Education's Learning Cooperative. Hers was a double point. First, children really are deeply interested in learning, even learning in school, but they won't buy "counterfeit learning." By way of illustration she cited a class, predominantly black, from which 40 per cent of the students had already dropped out, sitting glazed and apathetic while the teacher droned on about the Civil War. Talking to the youngsters later, Ms. Gaines discovered that, in fact, they wanted desperately to know about the Civil War and how it related to their African and slave heritage; what had turned them off was the standard school version of the Civil War coming from a teacher who was "just an old jive textbook man."

Second, she disputed the assumption that young people get and absorb plentiful information outside school. Certainly, they learn how to "psych out the system, the nature of things, and to pick up priceless survival tips from the streets," but, in Ms. Gaines's opinion, few students really can sort out and make sense of the mass of information available through television and other noninstitutional means. She stated that information is piecemeal, often inaccurate and superficial, and, *in toto*, provides no substitute for integrated, structured learning.

As was perhaps inevitable in a conference facing so many complex problems, this question was never fully answered—except to the extent that most people, including Ms. Gaines, dispensed with all-or-nothing solutions and envisioned the high school in a new role that would complement and coordinate other educational resources. Perhaps the clearest resolution of this issue came from Evans Clinchy, who heads Educational Planning Associates:

While some of us agree that the information-dispensing function of school is obsolete, that doesn't mean we should abolish schools. The role of the school is to help kids become whole

functioning adults, to help them learn how to think. If kids are deprived in schools, the one thing they're deprived of is the means for handling information. The world we live in doesn't make sense. This is especially true for kids. The problem for all of us is what do we make of all the information we get? What do we do with it? That is a function of the mind. School is a place to help you develop cognition, a sense of self, and of how you relate to others. If schools fail to help kids make sense of themselves and their lives, then school has failed no matter what other experiences kids have had — whether in a zoo, a police court, or anywhere. Schools must be the one place in our society with this as a clear objective.

The individual, by definition, is unique

Implicit in all the deliberations—and frequently very explicit, as in the discussion of the client—was the need to make good on all the tired rhetoric about education tailored to the individual. ("I cannot recall a time during the last four decades when there was so *much* talk about the individual's capacities and potentialities and so *little* actual confidence in them," psychologist Rollo May wrote recently.) "Dejuvenilization," therefore, would require not only reforms that acknowledge the earlier growth and expanded experience of contemporary youth (and its greater fragility under the stress of runaway social change); it would also mean a redirection in school governance and its uses of authority. It would mean the creation of latitude within which students have a real voice and choice in what and how they learn. And it would mean a climate that respects and nourishes the dignity of young adulthood.

But to come honestly and effectively to terms with the high school student as an individual is indeed a complex and multifaceted undertaking. To begin with, there are the broad distinctions between teenagers and other age groups, with special reference to the characteristics of the contemporary client discussed in the previous chapter. Then—still using a coarse sieve—there are the differences, increasingly recognized, between the early teens and later teens, broad differences in background and aspiration between city youngsters and suburbanites, and between the offspring of the dominant majority and those of the nation's minorities, not forgetting sharp distinctions between, say, young blacks and young Filipinos. (One participant expressed concern about "the new nigger in the suburbs"—the blue-collar kid "with a lot of real needs people aren't even looking at.")

Beyond such generic distinctions are the infinite combinations of temperament, intelligence, talent, experience, and heritage that contribute to *personality* and make each individual unique. Allen Glatthorn, director of the Alterna-

tive Schools Project, Elkins Park, Pa., cited, for instance, some divergent traits of importance to the would-be school reformer: the differences among students in their desire for freedom and control ("Am I free not to be free?"), and their differences with the establishment's view of "career goals" (I'd rather make candles than operate an air hammer.")

Forced schooling

In its consideration of respect for the individual, the conference confronted the delicate but basic issue of compulsory schooling.

Compulsory education, extended decades ago to include high school, has been one of the most sacrosanct tenets of American democracy. But there are those who now question even this dogma. One among them is psychologist David Bakan, who argues that this development, which Americans take such pride in, has operated primarily to advance the purposes of the state and not necessarily for the advancement of the nominal beneficiary, the individual student.*

Another is B. Frank Brown, director of information and services for /I/D/E/A/, the co-sponsor of the symposium, who spoke out at Airlie House with ardor. Dealing with the right of the individual *not* to go to high school, and questioning whether compulsory schooling even serves the purposes of the state, he said:

The foremost problem in American education is not forced busing, it is forced schooling. Too many classrooms are loaded with students who are there because of either parental or societal pressure. High school students are entitled to an education, but should not be forced to acquire one.

In 1968, when the Supreme Court ruled in the Tinker case that students in school as well as out of school are persons under our Constitution and are posssed of fundamental rights which the State must respect, it not only wiped out the concept of in loco parentis, *it made compulsory schooling unconstitutional. Like the Supreme Court's earlier Brown decision, the Tinker case and its implications for change in schooling is going through the prolonged process characteristic of change in the educational establishment. The mills of the gods grind slowly but one thing is clear — when the 14th Amendment is applied to children in schools, it heralds an end to compulsory education.*

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*David Bakan, "Adolescence in America: From Idea to Social Fact," *Daedalus*, Fall, 1972.

What is wrong with compulsory education? Forced schooling makes a captive audience. Too many students are in school because they are constrained to be there. The result is that, for many students, schooling is a place of confinement. The consequence is that an uneasy truce exists between many students and their teachers. The schools have been modeled after the jail, the church, and the factory, and the students have been victims of academic imperialism.

But the long-held preserve of administrators must be completely overrun and we must cease prolonging the stay of students in an institutional structure. Unwilling and uncooperative students must be allowed out of the classroom, and, if society insists on an organized pattern of group behavior as a fundamental part of the culture, then they should be offered some other kind of institutionalization. They should not be forced to attend public schools and study subjects in which they have no interest.

Concluding on an upbeat, Mr. Brown added, "What happens when high schools are no longer compulsory? Their campuses will be open and flexible and the entire community will serve as the high school campus. The high schools will then bear more resemblance to colleges both in program and organization. A few high schools have already become schools without walls, and the University of Syracuse is working on a program for an external high school diploma." (See story, p. 42).

Body time vs. clock time

The conference found the freshest contribution to the well-worn topic of individuality in the contribution of Gay Luce. Ms. Luce, a science writer and graduate student at Union Graduate School, combines medicine and mysticism in her investigations. Her message dealt with a whole phase of human growth and individuality which schools—indeed, organized life in general—takes small account of: each person's singular biological rhythm. Most people's awareness of such differences is confined to the mere opposition of "night people versus day people," but that is simplistic, if not misleading. A person could adapt to sleeping by day and working by night, for example, but his energy distribution might still be greater in the early part of his waking period.

In our culture, although we all live on a roughly circadian rhythm, i.e., a 24-hour day, individuals vary greatly in the phase of their daily rhythms. The hormones that regulate many of our mental and organic functions undergo tremendous tidal changes, which are clued, in some yet unknown way, to the earth's rotation, to geomagnetic changes in the atmosphere, and to other influences. (We do not understand these just as we do not yet fully

understand why homing pigeons home or ducks migrate.) These internal tidal changes are accompanied by corresponding variations in energy distribution, in the waxing and waning of our drives, our attention, and our periods of alertness and fatigue. They can be witnessed in such convenient measures as the rise and fall of body temperature.

According to Ms. Luce, "You can give a dose of amphetamine to groups of identical rats on a controlled light-and-dark schedule (approximating stable day and night) and observe the slow, 24-hour change in their nervous systems as they react to the identical dose of the drug at different hours. Given at midnight (the peak of their activity cycle, since they are nocturnal animals) 76 per cent will die. Yet the same dose, only three hours later at 3 a.m. will cause only 6 per cent of them to die. (At 3 a.m. they are approaching the beginning of their rest cycle, analogous to 8 or 9 p.m. for man.) So our vulnerability to drugs, to infection, to stress, to ideas, is very different around the clock."

Institutions do not ordinarily take account of such factors, though Ms. Luce reported that foreign airlines have acknowledged their importance. Having found that there is a 50 per cent loss in reaction time when they have a diurnal person functioning at night—which with a pilot means a 50 per cent greater chance of a crash around 3 a.m.—they are taking such information seriously.

Does this mean, then, that school systems should deliberately design education for the nocturnal life-styles of many young people? Not necessarily, according to Ms. Luce, because we do not know what the distribution is in the population, and it would be a very hard thing to measure. But treating the youngsters in a classroom or a schoolhouse as though they were all in the same state, the same degree of consciousness—thereby forcing them out of step with their own minds and bodies—deprives them in a profound way of their individuality. In the words of Ms. Luce, "it makes victims of them." What our schools *can* do, and what one or two are trying, is to provide optional schedules so that students can choose those that best suit them. Even more important is training in the sensing and control of consciousness. Experimental projects, like Project Community at Berkeley High School, are giving students an opportunity to know their own rhythms, and also to alter their states of consciousness at will, so that they can adapt more effectively when they must conform with an external schedule of demands." (See stories, pp. 39 and 41 on "Five O'Clock High" and "Internal Mastery.")

The high school as social scene

How a new kind of institution could accommodate the needs (and exploit the potential) of the teenager *qua* teenager, as well as each indivdual in himself,

led to repeated discussion of the high-school-as-social-scene.

Everyone—school people, parents, legislators, and those less directly connected with the enterprise—regards school as serious business. And "serious business" is thought to consist of hard-core learning, not socializing. But for adolescents, socializing *is* hard-core learning.

It is trying on self-images, connecting with one's peers, developing one's sexuality, and working out human relationships. Socializing is part of the process by which one acquires the equipment for growing up, and it is at least as important as algebra.

Since school is so much of the scene for adolescents, it is of necessity the place where these roles must be practiced and played out. Indeed, as Mr. Glatthorn noted: "A keen observer will note the deep loneliness of kids. In many places the town is so dead at night, it's easy to study then. Kids are hard to find, so school is where you have to go to find them. And it's because they're lonely that they want to spend time hacking around in the cafeteria and the lounge, rather than in class."

Or as Edward J. Meade, of The Ford Foundation's Public Education Division, put it: "The value of school is in its sense of community, in mixing it up in the halls, so we need school as a *place*." This was one reason, among others, for the frequent comment that "if we didn't have schools we'd have to invent them."

School as a *place* is what we have, but most high schools deny the socializing—or to put it more basically, the human—aspect of their function. They are centrifugal in design and operation, forcing people apart rather than bringing them together. ("School is where every 40 minutes a lonely crowd moves up the hallway," says Ed Pino, former superintendent of Colorado's Cherry Creek schools.) Their interiors are sterile, defensive, and about as unpleasant as a waiting room in a bus depot.

If schools are to recognize their social/human functions (and to improve pedagogy in its conventional sense), new groupings are necessary: groups small enough for each student to know his fellows while large enough to be administratively workable. In Mr. Pino's Cherry Creek School District, units of 75 to 150 have been found to be about right for both purposes.

To mesh with administrative regroupings, instructional spaces need to be designed as softer, more intimate settings, conducive to the informal talk of people in smaller sub-groups. Other physical arrangements must be devised as well that are calculated to bring together strangers in the crowd. Cafeterias, traffic routes, and lounges could be planned with inviting spaces and furniture that encourage serendipitous encounters and ease the awkward beginnings of one-to-one conversation.

At the same time that schools must be planned as places for students to get in touch with each other, they must also be places where students can get in touch with themselves. The oppressiveness of *always* having to relate

to others must be leavened by private spots where students (and teachers too) can be alone to work, to think, and maybe, even, to dream.

Given these overall desiderata, how might high schools be arranged to turn the ideal into a reality?

What came forth in general was that the new institution called "high school" should function as a center that catalyzes other community resources to further real education, shedding some of its outmoded functions while taking on important new ones. Above all, the conference bore down on the urgency of providing many alternative or optional programs, and of avoiding universal solutions that fail to take account of local conditions and opportunities.

One student's alternative

It could not have been more emphatically stated that, since there is an infinity of differences among students, these can be met only by a diversity of program offerings in a diversity of physical sites. Any single program must co-exist with many others, not one other. Moreover, alternative programs must be available *within* schools, not merely between schools. They must include *non-school* routes to education, not only alternative school routes to education. And there must be built into the system a potential for open back-and-forth movement among varied program offerings by any single youngster. ("Schools have to be in-and-out places for kids, for dropouts, for adults, for all of us," said Mary Hovet, assistant superintendent of Maryland's Howard County schools.)

A sober caveat on what might *appear* as a copious array of choices was voiced by Edythe Gaines. "Alternatives won't work unless they're genuine and equal," she said. "A choice between this good and that lousy is no choice. The school or program opted *out of* by students seeking an 'alternative' must itself represent a viable 'alternative' for the students who choose to stay."

The traditional school program, then—even, so help the conferees, in a classroom—must remain among the options, if diversity is to be honestly served.

Although the validity of that point was accepted, alternatives proposed at the conference, as capsuled by Mr. Gold, "were all based *outside* the classroom, and many outside the school building. Some involved independent study in and out of school; some revolved around interpersonal contacts between students and with adults in small group, non-classroom areas of the school building. Others made regular use of the institutions of the city 'beyond the school walls'. Still others incorporated travel in the student schedule; one Colorado school even sends a complement of students to Europe. And almost all included outside service and work experience at a co-op job. Nobody put forth a form of classroom experience as a solution to the 'high school problem'."

But Pauline Wyre, an articulate black parent from the south Bronx, New York, put in a strong counter-argument for the school as a place to go *to*, not *from*. "Everybody here seems to want to push the kids out of school," she said. "But our parents want to keep their kids *in* school and they want the community to come in and help them *there*." (See story, page 46.)

It was an important point. The discussions did appear to be skewed to the home-base school that students would go *from*, spending part of their time within the school building and part of it moving about in the world using the assets of the community. But that was not intended to minimize the reverse arrangement: the multipurpose school-cum-community center where the outside world would be brought *in*. The schoolhouse itself, as an admixture of extra-school resources, services, and people, would cease to be an isolated compound: a youth-ghetto segregating kids and boxing in their experience.

(Either way—the school moving out into the world or the world moving into the school—implies engagement with an important issue raised by the Coleman report* and the Christopher Jencks study;** that is, the school you go to matters less than whom you go to school with.)

What is actually offered to students by the proposed alternatives that conventional schools seem not to be doing, or not doing well enough? They were summed up this way by Mr. Meade:

1. *Greater participation by students in decision-making about their schools and the modes of their own education.*
2. *Having more freedom of choice and more responsibility for their own work.*
3. *Working with a range of adults and kids of other ages.*
4. *Teaching other kids.*
5. *Serving in the community and holding jobs.*
6. *Spending more time by themselves.*
7. *Working more in groups than in classes.*
8. *Getting paid for work, with the school's sanction.*
9. *Enrolling in smaller "schools."*

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*James S. Coleman, et al. *Equality of Educational Opportunity.* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare.) U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

**Christopher Jencks, et al. *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America.* New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972.

Seed beds

As to specific examples of the "greening" of high schools, or high schools on the way to "greening," the conference touched on such places as Philadelphia's Parkway and Chicago's Metro in passing, and heard about others in detail from authoritative sources. Not all the examples are yet in operation and some are not high schools but elementary schools that embody ideas and procedures applicable to high schools. So the conference learned about:

- *The proposal to wed a good part of Boston's school system to the city's rich cultural resources.*
- *The Las Vegas Urban (Evening) High School, popularly known as "Five O'Clock High," a unique institutional application of the body-time concept presented by Gay Luce.*
- *The Connecticut Citizen Action Group, which has engaged students from urban, rural, and suburban high schools in a very active and political program to improve the environment.*
- *The external high school degree program being developed by the Syracuse University Research Corporation for a region in central New York State.*
- *The Murray Road Annex of Newton High School in Massachusetts, a "free school" alternative within an existing school.*
- *The Castle Rock School near Tacoma, Wash. and the Clear Creek School, Idaho Springs, Colo., two open high school buildings with programs to match.*
- *The Human Resources Center in Pontiac, Mich., opened in 1971, which combines an elementary school with facilities for adult education, a community college extension, cultural, recreational, health, and social welfare servics.*
- *The James Monroe High School in New York City whose program aims to bring the outside world inside the schoolhouse rather than dispersing students in the community.*
- *The pilot program in two West Hartford, Conn. high schools where students are released from school for a month each year. During that time students report daily to an assigned "community learning center"; i.e., an agency in service, business, industry, government, communication, education, or fine arts for direct experience in work related to their career interests. The program, designed for both college-bound and non-college oriented*

students, is a change in direction from a proposal for a new technical-vocational high school.

- *The Cherry Creek Schools in Metropolitan Denver, which involve students in work, service, teaching, and exchange experiences.*

Detailed accounts of some of these models appear at the end of this chapter. There is other evidence around the country that the high school has at least begun to work toward a "new beginning."

Will there always be a Northeast High?

All the programs and plans discussed at Airlie House witnessed forcefully the conviction that things are terribly amiss with the high school as we have known it, and the uncertainties and complexities of how to set things straight. But throughout the conference ran a spirit of hope, of common sense, and of compromise that ruled out one hundred per cent solutions in either direction. Hope—because, as John Gardner once said, "The first and most important task of the leader is to offer hope." And because, as Edythe Gaines said, ". . . I think it can be pulled off, and the situation demands that it be pulled off. Those of us not committed to that should leave the scene." Common sense—because, however transformed or rechristened, the public school as a necessary condition of a free society is here to stay. And compromise—because this is at once the most practicable and perhaps the most promising course to pursue. Thus the conference generated such summations as these:

From Edward Meade:
Since schools don't seem necessary anymore to transmit information, the conference might have been called 'The School as Dropout'. But we're opposed to any kind of dropping out, so we found some other things the schools could do.

1. *The school needs to be the broker for sending youngsters to and from 'real world experiences'.*
2. *The school needs to be a place for the socialization of youth.*
3. *The school needs to be a place where real world experience can be synthesized, analyzed, and understood by the pupils.*
4. *The school needs to be an amenable place for exploring self.*

From William Caudill:
We have been debating the seeming paradoxes of secondary education for years, and will continue to debate them. These include think/do; individual/group; small/large; school/

community; freedom/controls; general/specialized; now/wait. From the point of view of many of my teammates and I who have been designing schools these last 25 years, these paradoxes are really usable opposites, not necessarily in conflict. As the Bible says, 'To everything there is a season and a time to every purpose under the heaven.' There is a time when this very individual's welfare requires stressing the group. Down with polecats who see no time for the opposite pole.

From Allan Glatthorn:
One of our tasks is to make schools better places. The second task is to find other places for kids to learn. I don't see those tasks as being mutually contradictory, in fact they're complementary. The better job we do, helping kids learn outside the place called school, the more likely it is we will be able to humanize the place called school. Let's work at both tasks.

From J. Lloyd Trump:
A simple rule of thumb ought to be: whenever you can do a thing better in school, or a place called school, that's where you do it. If you can do it better 'out there,' you do it out there. ■

IV. Getting down to cases

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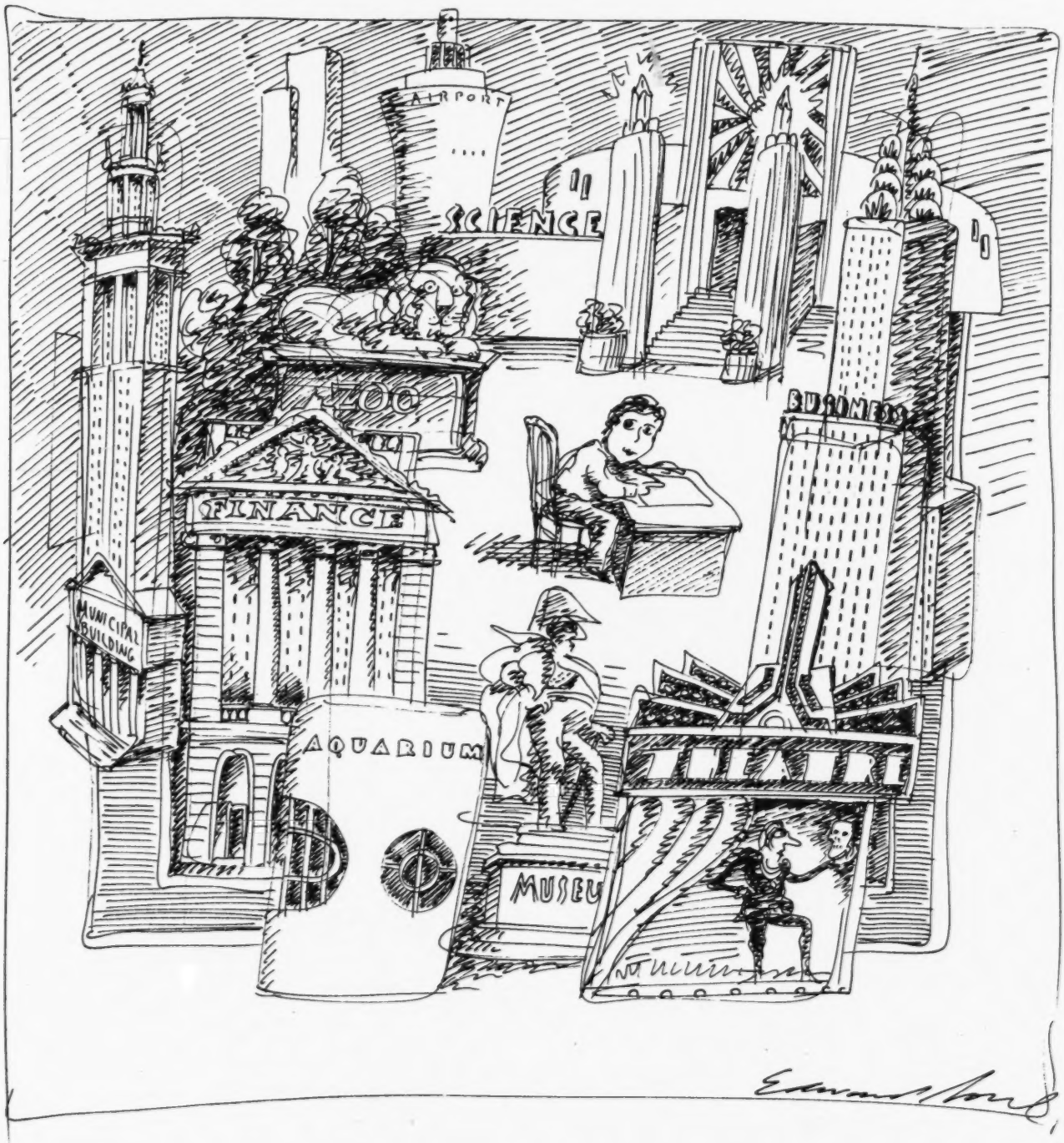
IV. Getting down to cases



A marriage of school and community resources

Zool or schoo for Boston (Boston?)

A FAIRLY large portion of Boston's school children—20,000 out of 96,000—may soon go to school in places other than school.

A proposal now under consideration by the City of Boston and the Boston School Department calls for the meshing of the school system with the city's rich variety of resources. These include art and science museums, an aquarium, all kinds of performing arts schools, at least a dozen colleges and universities, a sophisticated business community, and government agencies of all levels. These assets represent the practical world as well as the spectrum of human knowledge and accomplishment, at least so far as Western civilization is concerned. Many of these resources are underused. Almost all have been unexploited by the schools. But properly harnessed to the schools, they can provide a flavorsome, first-hand, on-the-spot way to learn. At the same time they can revitalize a school system that drives many families away from the city to the supposedly superior quality of suburban schools.

The plan proposes that children from kindergarten through high school spend at least half their school year studying in these depositories of our culture. What is involved are not field trips. Rather, it is a redefinition of "school" and "schoolhouse" with pieces of the educational system constructed all over the city as school space built into or next door to existing institutions.

For example: Boston is about to build a new zoo. The heart of the zoo will be 5.5 acres of space enclosed under a cable-supported membrane. Animals and plant life will live both inside and outside this enclosure. The first phase to go into construction—a birdhouse, flight cage, and migratory bird pond—will contain some 2,000 additional square feet of space to serve as the first zoo-school resource center.

Here, sub-collections of the plant and bird life will be moved in an out for study. Books, AV media, microscopes, and other lab instruments will be housed, along with a complement of chalkboards, work surfaces, and furnishings for all kinds of teaching and learning. Children will go to school there for a minimum of six weeks a year, moving between the zoo proper and the resource center. The hope is that eventually the "school" or "zoo" will be able to serve a minimum of 2,000 youngsters at any one time.

Similar arrangements are envisioned, with resource centers to be constructed at the Museum of Science, the Aquarium, the Boston Architectural Center, the Children's Museum, the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, the Museum of Fine Arts, the John Hancock Insurance Company, and so on.

Will this educational bounty break the budget? According to the Boston Redevelopment Authority, which funded and developed the plan, it will not. It is expected to cost no more, and possibly less, than a conventional system. Teachers and construction funds provided in the basic school budget would simply be redeployed. The centers are to be staffed by regular teachers, reassigned from their home-base schools, and by personnel from the partner institution. Capital funds would be shifted from construction of new schools to

construction of the resource centers. Where local schools must be built, they would be smaller, with less specialized facilities and equipment, and thus less expensive. Since the resource centers would bring together children of the city's black and white populations, transportation expenses would be largely covered by state funds available for purposes of racial balance. ■

For more information, write to:
Evans Clinchy,
Educational Planning Associates, Inc.,
54 Lewis Wharf, Boston, Mass. 02110.

Out-of-school-routes to education: One example

LAST YEAR, high school students throughout the state of Connecticut made a study of food prices. They developed questionnaires and survey techniques, taught housewives and others how to use them, got the information, key-punched data cards, ran them through a computer (with the help of programmers at the Yale computer center), and published the results.

The program had little or no connection with the schools, but no one would question the educational value students reaped from the experience.

The work was done under the auspices of the Connecticut Citizen Action Group, the first state group to be affiliated with Ralph Nader's national Center for the Study of Responsive Law. It is a nonprofit, public-interest organization whose mission is to conduct research on environmental, consumer, and human rights issues, and to organize citizens around them. The group's work with students is direct, not through institutional affiliation—except for "free schools" and private schools who have opted for affiliation, and whose students receive credit for working with it.

In another major activity of the past year, 500 students from the state's cities and rural areas came together and said they wanted to do something about the environment: not simply water and air pollution, but the urban environment and occupational health and safety. Nor did they simply want to produce a report on the subject. They wanted to get some action. After three months in regional workshops, those who had worked on occupational health in New London and New Haven and Fairfield County gathered with those who had worked on the same problem in Hartford, and they wound up with a report from Connecticut high school students—an "Earth Platform" —demanding that election candidates address themselves to it. Their "Platform," in fact, became a subject of debate in the campaign.

This year, students have chosen to focus on getting bills through the state legislature. One such bill calls for imposing a deposit on throwaway containers, in order to push for returnables and reduce the solid waste problem. Another calls for the use of highway funds for the establishment of state-wide bicycle paths.

These activities are self-initiated. Students select the issues they wish to focus on and work with adults as advisors and resource persons. But they call the shots. *They* locate the resource people, *they* decide who their adult advisors will be, and *they* take it from there. They do their own research; write, produce, and disseminate information; figure out strategies for implementing what they learn, and organize the citizenry. And they do it voluntarily—after school, weekends, and in the summer.

Impressive for high school students? Toby Moffett, director of the Citizen Group, says that what *he* has learned is: "People learn best when they perceive a problem to be solved. We've got to look at our own perceptions of what students are capable of doing." ■

For more information, write to:
Toby Moffett, Director, Connecticut Citizen Action Group, 57 Farmington Avenue, Hartford, Conn. 06105.

Five O'Clock High, or how Las Vegas broke the clock

AT THE START of the 1970-71 school year, Las Vegas opened a unique high school that operates from late afternoon through early evening. Whereas many schools across the country offer a few evening classes, this one offers a complete high school program. During the normal day, the building serves 2,500 students. From 4:30 on, another 500 begin their school "day," with their own teaching and administrative staff. Officially the school is called Urban High School, reflecting the hassle Las Vegas had with state authorities to get around the law forbidding "night schools." (Clark County's Superintendent Kenny Guinn told the state: "It's not a night school, it will start long before nighttime, but it just happens the day closes in early during the winter and it gets dark.")

Why did Las Vegas set up Five O'Clock High? Not to make fuller use of overcrowded facilities, not to ease a tight budget, not to accommodate or segregate "difficult" students, not even because in that 24-hour town many parents work nights in the "gambling industry," but for the simple and extraordinary reason that a sizeable number of students preferred to go to school at night. As Mr. Guinn puts it: "I set up a communications council to talk to students about what's wrong with their schools. It just so happened that one young man told me he didn't like going to school early in the morning, he'd like to go at four or five o'clock in the afternoon. So I said, 'Well, let's do that,' and he said 'No, you wouldn't let us!' and I said 'Yes we will'." And they did, between April, when interviews and questionnaire returns showed 1,200 interested students, and September when more than 600 applicants turned up. Most of them stayed on to graduate in 1971 and 1972, with a third group due to graduate in 1973. Five O'Clock's students were a good mix, and so were their reasons for choosing the school. A few

were well-known malcontents—dropouts or shoveouts from other schools (the new school's staff quaked to see them enter); the bulk were fair to excellent students. Some, but not so many as expected, came in order to combine a job with education. But many came because they were night people. Many students often say "I didn't know school was so easy"—evidently because the hours are tuned in to their rhythm. For the students don't get sleepy, and the school is not "easy," in part by student choice. Consulted on elective courses and specific teachers for them, the students invariably pick "very hard" teachers—hard, but humane.

Well aware that moonlighting had become a way of life for teachers, the school expected to hire a fair share of moonlighters but recognized that stability required a basic core of teachers for whom the evening program was their prime responsibility. (As it turned out, slightly more than half the Five O'Clock staff teach one or two classes, with their prime responsibility elsewhere in the school system.)

To hear Mr. Guinn tell it, Las Vegas hasn't done anything "fantastic or innovative." To the conference his word was: "It's not a panacea, it's not an innovation, it's an alternative program that students can choose—it's *their* choice." Students have other choices in Clark County: they can shift to a school outside their official zone; they can go to school from 7 a.m. till noon, or from noon to 5 p.m.; they can go to the vocational-technical high school that runs from 7 a.m. until midnight and all day Saturday; if sheer size dismays them, they can go to Horizon High that enrolls 200 maximum. As for the Five O'Clock students, Mr. Guinn permitted himself the conjecture that "they have a good feeling about the school." ■

For more information, write to:
Kenny C. Guinn, Superintendent, Clark County School District, 2832 East Flamingo Road, Las Vegas, Nevada 89109.

Another timing option: A school for all seasons

AS THIS REPORT goes to press, word has arrived of another dimension in school time.

Starting in July, 1973, the Gar-Field High School in Woodbridge, Va., will run its regular programs year-round. The off-beat calendar will enable the individual student to keep pace with his own drummer; to decide for himself when to start his school year and to set his own rate for moving through it.

The procedure employed for "multiple entry—multiple exit" into and out of high school will use overlapping nine-week periods that commence every three weeks. (To match the new schedule, the curriculum will be divided into three-week modules.) A student can choose from among 15 different entry points for starting the school year and then devise any configuration

of three-week stints so long as they come to a minimum of 180 days per annum—a state attendance requirement which, it is hoped, eventually will be changed.

The model offers 63 possible combinations or options. Initially, however, the options will be somewhat restricted to conform to the scheduling parameters of four of the district's lower schools which, for the past two years, have been on a 45-15 cycle (45 days in school, 4 times a year, with 3-week vacations between in-school sessions). This will allow high school and elementary school children from a single family to be on a compatible schedule if a family so desires.

The district expects there will be some problems in transportation, in staffing, and in sufficient enrollment through all the cycles to offer the range of courses students want. But Prince William County is by now an experienced hand with the problems of innovative scheduling. All things considered, it expects to implement and operate the choose-your-own-calendar successfully, and with no significant increase in cost. ■

For more information, write to:

William A. Volk, Director, Office of Research and Development,
Prince William County Public Schools
P.O. Box 389, Manassus, Va. 22110

The overlooked goal: Internal mastery

As the tempo of life in the modern, technological world becomes more and more accelerated, it comes into greater conflict with the natural rhythms of biologically regulated time within our bodies. The result of conforming to the demands of schedules that are alien to our nature is physical and emotional stress. This is an area in which education can help.

Schooling must be more than a socialization process in which people learn about the external environment and how to control it. They must learn about their internal environment as well. A primary goal of education should be to help each child toward an awareness of his own rhythmic needs in order to attain the broader goal of mastery over his own mind and body. In a sense this is preventive medicine, for such mastery can prevent illness. (Some 80 per cent of all illnesses seen by physicians are psychosomatic.)

A well-developed person who learns how to use his mind and body as instruments should be able to focus his concentration at will. He should be able, for example, to allow the brain's left hemisphere to dominate during analytic tasks, and, conversely, to turn it down so that the right hemisphere can dominate during kinesthetic, spatial learning.

A well-developed person should be able to hold his mind empty when it serves his purpose or to quiet himself so as to sense and control his viscera or blood pressure or skin temperature in the manner of a trained Yogi. He

should be able to observe his own behavior in a detached manner and see himself in a mirror of time, realizing he has internal rhythms as short as heart beats, hours, days, or as long as months. He will then observe that he is not the same from day to day or week to week, but has fluctuations in metabolism, weight, memory, reaction time, sensory acuity, in strength, fatigue, vulnerability to suggestion and to illness. He will sense when it is the right time in his body, regardless of the clock on the wall, to take on difficult tasks, to study, to eat a large meal or small one, to rest, or to excrete. He will recognize that propensities to emotional ups and downs, and other characteristics as well, are related to his own physiological rhythm —a rhythm which is independent of events or other people.

By using a calendar of self-observation a child can begin to know himself, to learn how to respond to stimuli in the environment consciously instead of reflexively, to avoid stress that comes from desynchronization and develop habits and behavior consonant with ecological necessities.

Disciplines such as Yoga postures, meditations, breathing exercises, biofeedback, and other techniques can be used to help people achieve internal mastery. Children in school learn how a water clock or a pendulum works, and how to program an intricate timer into a computer—but they do not learn how to sense or regulate their own body rhythms. Training for self-awareness is of equal or greater importance and should be incorporated into the school curriculum. ■

Gay Gaer Luce, *Body Time: Physiological Rhythms and Social Stress*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1971.

National Institute of Mental Health, HEW. *Biological Rhythms in Psychiatry and Medicine* by Gay Gaer Luce. U.S. Government Printing Office, Public Health Service Publication 2088, 1970.

High school without high school: An external diploma program

THE RESIDENTS of any of five counties near Syracuse, New York, will soon be able to earn a high school diploma without ever stepping inside a high school. The no-high-school high school will be made possible through an external diploma program developed by the Syracuse University Research Corporation. Initial steps are now under way to put the project into operation.

The purpose of the program is to provide other kinds of secondary education for those whom the conventional school does not serve well—those who are too old or who must leave school to earn a living; the physically handicapped for whom attendance is difficult; those who don't learn in high school because it does not accommodate their learning styles; those who don't need the conventional high school because their capacities are beyond the learning opportunities it can offer; and those who do not want what to them seems an "irrelevant" education.

Here's how it will work:

The program will be made known by radio, by listing in the yellow pages, by school and job counselors, by word of mouth. Anyone of any age who wishes to enter may. He starts with a diagnostic process in which he finds out about himself: his basic skills, eyesight or hearing problems, how he likes to learn, and so on. By talking with professional counselors and his peers, he is helped to define his own goals. These goals, related to the diagnostic factors, indicate what his needs are. With the help of counselor-teachers, the student then works up a series of intermediate learning objectives. These may be reached, broadly, by academic studies, by participation in occupational, social, or political activity, or by a combination of these. The specific alternative "tasks" he may select to meet the objectives, which he learns about through computerized information and other means, are so numerous and diverse as to accommodate a variety of learning and life styles.

He might choose to attend classes at a community college near his place of work (or classes at a high school, for that matter), serve an apprenticeship (paid or unpaid), work with a tutor doing independent research and readings, use programmed materials and computer-assisted instruction, or do any of these in combination.

Through the completion of these self-designed packages of tasks that will lead the student to his self-defined ultimate goal, he moves up the educational spiral and incidentally receives a high school diploma.

Accountability and evaluation are built in: The student presents his packages of learning tasks to the program's accrediting body, with the counselor-teacher who assisted in their design acting as an advocate, and offers to make a contract for performing the tasks. If the accreditors accept the tasks as worthy of "credit," the credit is awarded upon completion of the contract. Successful completion is measured by a number of evaluation options which range from taking an exam to finding employment. A diploma made up of such credits is testimony that its possessor knows something about himself and where he wants to go; that he has made his own decisions and assumed responsibility for taking the steps to get him there.

Throughout the program, the emphasis is on decision-making by the student himself. As for "Education," the program defines it as learning *how* to learn, combined with developing the ability to identify *what* it is that is important to learn. ■

For more information, write to:
High School External Diploma Project,
Syracuse University Research Corporation,
Policy Institute,
723 University Avenue, Syracuse, New York 13210

A free school within a school

OLD HANDS at school reform say that survival of an innovation is one measure of its success. By that measure, let alone others, the Murray Road Annex has made it. Murray Road is an alternative "free school" program offered by Newton High School, Newtonville, Mass. Now in its sixth year of operation, it continues to be popular with students and enjoys the blessings and support of Newton school system officials.

One likely reason for its success is that it allows students to establish the alternatives from which to choose. This is in contrast to most other optional settings where, despite the latitude given students, they must choose from among programs that have been predetermined for them. At Murray Road, in fact, there are no programs set up when school opens in September of each year. Rather, students work them out among themselves and with the faculty, and then make their individual choices. They also work out the schedules, determine credits to be allotted, and participate in the hiring of staff.

Some of the patterns that have emerged are:

- Students volunteer for the program.
- School governance is through general meetings open to all students and faculty.
- Evaluation is through written comments. Each student evaluates his experience in each class. This is combined with an evaluation of the course by the teacher and an evaluation of the student's performance. (From the outset, there was an attempt to meet the problem of evaluation head-on by emphasizing that normal measures of student progress would be inadequate. On the assumption that the most important elements in education cannot be measured in any case, subjective and anecdotal evaluations were promoted as more important than college board scores or records for college entrance.)

Though the Murray Road Annex is housed in an old elementary school building two miles away from Newton High itself, it has had a marked effect upon the rest of the school. One of the Newton High's six regular Houses is attempting its own modification of the Murray Road project, and there are other innovations directly or indirectly related to Murray Road's philosophy, such as granting credits for non-school activities and regular classes which meet in the evening.

Its influence will also be evident in the bricks and mortar of the new high school, now in the final stages of construction. The Murray Road experience convinced school officials that, in the planning of the new building, they mostly needed smaller spaces for individual work and conferences, and a minimum of regular classroom space.

But the most important effect, according to Richard Mechem, Newton

High School's principal, has been the realization that regardless of how or by whom decisions are made, they must be made as close to the student as is possible—a principle usually violated in secondary school practice.

With all its success, Mr. Mechem frankly admits the project has plenty of problems and weaknesses. He states five:

- *The project has attracted students who probably don't need it, and we have not reached the blue-collar student. We have not attracted the full cross-section we had hoped for.*
- *A certain amount of the original impetus and subsequent support has been based on negatives such as getting away from the big*
- *school (pop. 2,700). That isn't adequate support for a long range program. Murray Road has had difficulty developing a positive statement of its purposes.*
- *The project is incredibly hard on individual faculty members, both in personal strain and hours on the job.*
- *The unity that has developed within the project has lessened the sense of community within the entire high school.*
- *Conservative parents, politicians, students, and fellow educators are always ready to pounce upon these programs since they represent a threat to the status quo.*

But here are five reasons we have survived:

- *The program costs no more per student than any other program in the school.*
- *Students have not been forced into it.*
- *There are other alternatives of equal merit at Newton High.*
- *We have hidden some of our deviation from state law under the umbrella of the total high school.*
- *It is a good program.* ■

For more information, write to:

Richard W. Mechem, Principal
Newton High School,
Newtonville, Massachusetts 02160

"Come on 'a my house": An urban school profits by having the neighbors in

JAMES MONROE HIGH SCHOOL, located in the southeast Bronx, New York City, is like hundreds of other large urban high schools. Its population is mostly Puerto Rican, black, and poor, from a densely inhabited neighborhood where housing, health, and unemployment are serious problems. The immediate community has little in the way of institutional or large business resources.

Like parents everywhere, James Monroe's parents want the best education for their children. "But they don't want their kids to be guinea pigs, they like the traditional school and the established way of doing things," says Pauline Wyre, former president of the Parents Association and now the school's Community Relations Liaison. "They want their children exposed to whatever will help them learn, but they feel it's safer for their kids to be *in* school than outside it, so that's where they want them to be—and they want the community to come in and help them there." Thus, in a reversal of the trend which seeks to bring students in contact with a broad range of people and experiences by sending them out into the neighborhood, James Monroe has invited the outside to come inside the school.

It started by inviting in the Economic Development Council of New York City. The EDC is an independent, nonprofit organization of corporate executives whose purpose is to apply the capabilities of the business community to vital urban programs. Its affiliates include the General Electric Company, the Chase Manhattan Bank, the First National City Bank, Consolidated Edison Company, the New York Telephone Company, Union Carbide, the New York Life Insurance Company, and other similarly large corporations.

Before extending its invitation to the EDC to set up shop at James Monroe, Monroe's staff, students, and parents prepared a study dealing with the ways it could contribute to the school, with recommendations as to the priorities for its work there.

The relationship, now in its fourth year, has been productive. Each year the EDC's member companies have assigned four to five of their employees—experts in management, manpower training, human relations, and the like—to work full time at the school under an EDC-assigned project manager. Some of the projects that have resulted are these:

- Jobs were opened by the EDC's member companies, which had never before considered employing high school students. Last year, for example, over 100 students were placed in "downtown" jobs, most of them on a level beyond mail clerks. The educational program and work experience are coordinated in a variety of ways: school schedules are adjusted so students are free to work mornings or afternoons; they are paid for their work and the work experience is credited toward graduation; they receive in-school preparation for jobs by learning how to fill out applications and conduct themselves in interviews, and they are familiarized with employer expectations and employment benefits. Evaluation of

students is jointly conducted: job supervisors fill out school forms which confirm the duties of the student and rate his performance on the job; the forms are then reviewed in school by a work experience coordinator, i.e., subject teachers whose function is to evaluate the total performance of the student, at work as well as in school.

- An Annual Health Fair was initiated. Ties were established with the Albert Einstein College of Medicine, a nearby institution, which was asked to send its personnel and equipment to the school to provide medical examinations for Monroe students, many of whom had not been seen by a physician for four years or more. This grew to include parents of students and other folks in the community. Last year 1,000 neighborhood people came for complete physical and dental examinations. Students helped by registering people, working as guides, and providing refreshment and musical entertainment to ease the long wait.

- Another project involves volunteers from the EDC's companies (100 volunteers, last year) who come to the school evenings on their own time to tutor students, on a one-to-one basis, in reading, math, and all major subjects. Aside from the immediate benefits of the tutoring, this gives students contact with people from outside the school and the immediate neighborhood—people who can serve as positive adult models, and who give students the feeling that somebody in the big city cares about them and their problems.

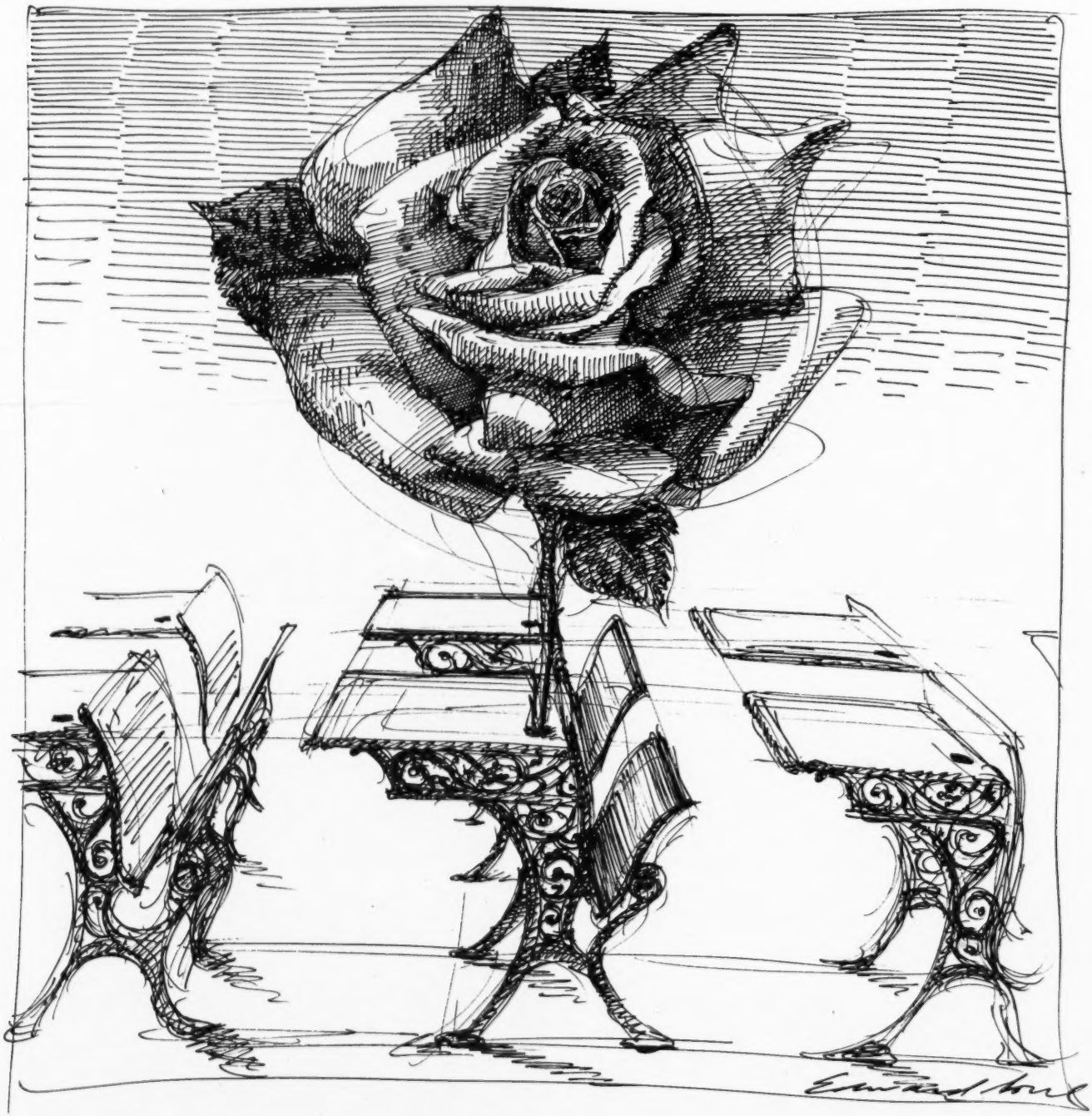
Because the neighborhood is unsafe, many students coming to tutoring sessions at night were accompanied by parents. It soon became evident that parents were interested in study for themselves. An EDC survey showed the adults wanted to study typing, shorthand, office practice, business arithmetic, sewing, and so forth, and classes were accordingly set up.

Other programs, similar in nature, are enriching life at Monroe and forging a bond between the school, its immediate neighborhood, and the broader community. The schoolhouse, which had once been the typically remote urban high school, rarely visited by parents or other adults during the day, and dark and closed at night, now hums at all hours. There is much coming and going by students and their parents to learn, to carry on project activities, to use the gym and pool. The school itself is becoming a community resource. ■

For more information, write to:
Pauline Wyre, Community Relations Liaison,
James Monroe High School,
1300 Boynton Avenue, Bronx, New York 10472

Reform the environment: stop trying to reform people. They will reform themselves if the environment is right.

BUCKMINSTER FULLER



V. An institution to fit the client: Settings

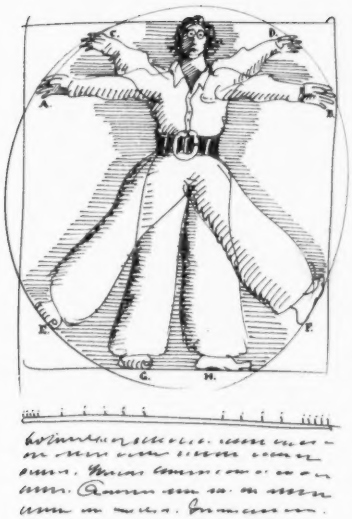
If form follows function, the relation is not as linear as the words would indicate. Thus, for clarity and ease of reference as well, this report of the Airlie House conference separates the inseparable: the *what* of tomorrow's high school and the *where*. In fact these were as inextricably mixed in the discussions as they are in reality. The proposals for "dejuvenilizing" the schools (or better still, *humanizing* them) had their natural counterpart in proposals for a whole new order of settings.

This unity was embodied in another way: the architects were among the most persuasive and precise proponents of new kinds of school environments. Noting this in his epilogue, Edward Meade said:

The architects and educators were closer than I had expected. The architects are no longer interested in creating monuments or going on ego trips to leave something for the future. And the educators want schools as places for human intercourse as well as education. The architects talked of functional buildings, but their emphasis was on buildings that would embody the symbiotic relationship of man, nature, and technology. They both agreed on the primacy of the people and the programs, but they also agreed these can be better if the place inspires them to be better — and joins in concert with that betterment. Together, they wanted buildings that would be less awesome, less forbidding, freer. Above all, they were both seeking to create space or place or school as a climate for diversity, for trust, for engagement with people and the pleasures of the mind.

Schools as people places

That monumentalism is out and humanism in among school architects—at least these architects—is apparent from the issues they chose to lay before the conference. Their message was that school buildings are for people. Yes, they are symbols, too—of the hope that parents place in the future of the children, of community pride in the way it cares for its young. They are, as designer Robert Propst put it, "a showplace of society functioning." The symbolism, in fact, has often overridden their human functions and twisted them into self-conscious monuments. But to put meaning back into the



symbol, school buildings must above all serve the people in them.

What are the qualities that can make them people places?

Human scale: Physical settings must satisfy the need for a sense of identity. "That won't be found," said architect Ben Thompson, "in the totally illuminated, smoothly airconditioned, precision-controlled container of space where you can't find the center. We're dealing with a world that's too big, out of control, lacking in meaning and social satisfaction. So whether it's a house or a factory or a city or a high school, it's got to have human scale. It's got to answer 'Where do I belong? Where can I hide? Where can I find my girl? Where can I work, separately and with others?' "

Personal territory: Students and teachers alike need a sense of their own turf: a personal place to be alone and separate from group pressures, to work, to store and retrieve information and tools gathered for projects in progress.

Spatial variation: A building should provide options in the size and shapes of sub-spaces so people can gather in two's or four's, in groups of 10 or 20 or 100—and in each case provide the right amount of visual and auditory privacy.

Spatial order, not spatial uniformity: Patterns of use should not be predetermined. The space should permit people to array themselves in relationships natural to communication for the work at hand—with allowances for random meetings and room for horseplay, as well.

Manipulability: The environment must allow itself to be manipulated by its users so spaces can be changed, lamps turned on and off, tools moved from here to there, and so on. Functional considerations aside, a facility that allows itself to be manipulated gives its users a sense of possession.

Access to information and tools: The management posture must emphasize service. It must make things easily available and invite "hands on" use.

Environmental feedback: A school facility must allow its occupants to stamp their presence on it. It must be ready to accept the graphic presentation of student activities and interests so that the building reflects who they are and how they're doing. Displays of student work help to build their sense of identity. They also make the surroundings more lively and relevant too.

Optional seating and work surfaces: The facility must acknowledge that people work in a variety of natural postures: sitting up straight, lounging, leaning, perching, standing. It should offer a variety of seating (including the floor) and work-surface heights to accommodate them.

Graceful wear and renewal: Furniture should be allowed to be worn, used up, and renewed. Furnishings bought for their qualities of permanence tend to be cold, unyielding, anti-people. And they wear out anyway, becoming more unpleasant as they do so than products that are frank about their wearability.

Work esthetic: The look of learning in action is a busy one, with things out and in active use. But this seems to violate some cultural sense of order. Administrators, teachers, and custodians have to understand that a place by being useful, interesting, and relevant, becomes attractive to its users. ("Why do people peer through knotholes to watch hardhats with their caterpillar tractors and cranes?" asked Robert Propst. "Because they're great to see. And no one ever designed a construction site to be attractive.")

These prescriptions for a happy schoolhouse seem at first glance too good to be probable. A schoolhouse, whatever else we might like it to be, *is* after all, a public, tax-supported place of assembly that must accommodate large numbers of people efficiently and economically. As such, can it *really* serve the needs and desires of the individual? Is it possible to let students and teachers possess a school? If they are allowed to manipulate the place for their own goals, will it be manageable? These contradictions and realities were not pushed under the rug. They were raised by Mr. Propst himself, in fact, who had just cited the principles for making schools people places. "*Can* we create school as a place you'd go to even if you didn't have to?" he asked. "With proper planning, design, and management, we can. The challenge," he said, "lies in how we resolve the conflicts natural to an environment that must blend the private me and the public us."

The challenge *is* being met in a significant number of school buildings scattered across the country. The high schools among them are few, but that is beside the point. That they exist is evidence that it can be done. Two luminous examples were described at the conference—the Clear Creek High School in Idaho Springs, Colo. (photos, p. 62) and the Castle Rock High School near Tacoma, Wash. (photos, p. 61). Both were carefully planned and designed from the ground up. Though not costly, they are both "architectural statements" that express new concepts of education and embody their corresponding programs in an elegant physical package. But there are other examples as well, examples as humble in nature as the neighborhood supermarket, and as ingenious as the conversion of a sow's ear into a silk purse.

Schools in recycled space

In the big cities where space is hard to come by, where real estate is sold by the square foot, and where municipal bureaucracy results in six to eight years between the initial planning for a school and its occupancy, a new approach to the creation of schools has evolved. It is quick and inexpensive and the results are functional and benevolent.

If urban streets are rich in anything, it is buildings: hotels, bowling alleys,

funeral parlors, supermarkets, apartment houses and office buildings, churches and synagogues, factories and armories, and a host of others. Many of these enclose space which, with a little renovation and imagination, make sensitive, supportive quarters for schooling—and New York City has begun to acquire them.

Elementary schools distinguished for their programs are already being housed in such unlikely places as a former catering hall, a theatre, and a mattress factory. The newest star in the city's galaxy of hand-me-down school facilities is an old *World Telegram and Sun* printing plant, now the berth of the 500 Pacific Alternative High School. The leased, five-story structure, with 10,000 square feet on each floor, was brought up to safety codes, painted, carpeted, and furnished, at a cost expected to total less than $1 million. It will ultimately house 700 students. Compare this with the usual cost of a high school in New York City which, for the same capacity, would run between $3.5 to $4 million. In a quick six months from the time that programming and physical planning were initiated, students began attending school there. And attendence, incidentally, is at a 70 per cent level; a triumph, considering that the school's population is composed of drop-outs and push-outs from the city's regular high schools—but not a surprising one to the school's planners who assert that the conventional school building is often counterproductive functionally and psychologically. In contrast, these recycled schools—perhaps because no one is guarding them as community monuments—are freer, more relaxed, more human.

August Gold, maverick facilities man in New York City's Board of Education, who was responsible for these inventive solutions, discussed the reasons why more such spaces are expected to make inroads in the city's inventory of 950 schoolhouses, 92 of which are high schools:

We have to recognize that the high school function has changed, and with it the physical plant needs. We don't need the 'class' and the 'classroom' anymore. People can organize now around the sources of information and the way they seek each other out for dealing with knowledge. So we're looking for different kinds of spaces. We need private nooks for dialogue; amiable lounges for interpersonal contact; a large hall for lectures, plays, movies, and concerts. We need media centers for the storage of information and its retrieval and display. We need vast surfaces, flat, vertical, and three-dimensional for the exhibit of artifacts, creations, and contrivances, for notices and appeals. We need shops and ateliers and labs for the fabrication of works of art and science.

Such spaces, random in shape, of no predetermined size, are found most auspiciously in buildings created for other purposes. These buildings offer spaces which challenge ingenuity to use, and in the

process spark new ideas for learning. The very act of aquisition of an existing non-school space has repeatedly stirred innovations in educational concepts. A large ballroom invites exploration of teaming and non-grading. A set of offices accessory to an open industrial-type area suggests a mini-school enclave. An undivided space which branches into embrasures or alcoves seems to ask for an open informal mode, as does the chain of bedrooms in a hotel.

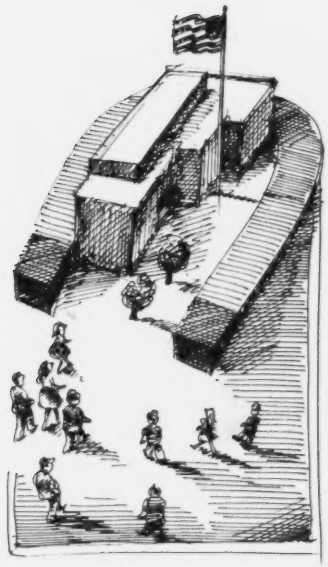
The economies of this fresh route to school acquisition are indeed impressive. In general, their price tag comes to between 35 and 40 per cent of the cost of new buildings. In anybody's town, that's no trifle. In a town the size of New York, it's awesome. "It means," said Mr. Gold, "that instead of $500 million for 25 projected, full-sized traditional buildings now in the budget, we might spend only $200 million for facilities far more adaptable to the emerging high school function."

Still another notable benefit is the matter of site availability. Big sites mean the uprooting of residents, delays resulting from judicial stays of relocation, and neighborhood hostility. On this score, a related item of interest is this one: New York City is preparing an ordinance that would require apartment house builders to ask the Board of Education if school space will be required. If the answer is yes, the builder would be granted a building permit only if he agrees to provide the space. The Board would then rent the space, which need be only the ground floor of apartments. Thus can instant demography be served—and schools lifted from isolation in compounds and integrated into the fabric of the city.

A final but important reason why other cities might look to New York's venturesome program: They too will be confronted with the demographic changes that are already emptying elementary schools in many parts of the country. As the wave of decreasing birth rates hits the high schools, new construction may diminish to zero. Though the need for new facilities to house more bodies will go away, the need for new *kinds* of facilities will not. Indeed, it will become more pressing as high schools catch up with their changing function and the processes to match. The rules of the game will have changed by then, however, from building new to making do—both by modernizing existing schoolhouses and converting non-school houses.

Community centered schools

When real people and their real needs are truly the center of school planning, the schoolhouses that result are apt to be strikingly different from those we know. A few such schoolhouses are beginning to appear. They are so different



from the common variety as to be almost a mutation of the species. And they are so promising as to suggest, as Harold Gores put it: "Twenty years hence the word school will become redundant. The place of education will be a center where people of all ages and sizes who desire to learn from each other, and can, gather."

A forecast of what these educational gathering places might be like can be gleaned from the Human Resources Center in Pontiac, Mich.

The Center is a vibrant coupling—physically, functionally, and philosophically—of places, activities, and services in the center of a depressed city. Its nucleus is a series of mini-schools for some 2,000 children of elementary school age. These facilities sit cheek by jowl with a nursery school, a community college extension, adult education spaces, a medical and dental clinic, welfare and emergency relief services, legal aid, assistance to the elderly, job training and placement services, theaters, a gymnasium and dance hall, a library, a public restaurant, community lounges, meeting rooms, and malls and "streets" for gathering and relaxing.

The programs for children and adults are designed to be comprehensive, to serve people throughout their lifetimes. They are for parents who want a better understanding of child growth and family development. They are for adults and out-of-school youth who wish to complete high school diplomas, who want pre-college studies, occupational training, or courses for fun. They are for the cultural and recreational pleasures of everyone. And they are for people in trouble who need help.

These diverse functions are organized in an intricate physical structure: 176,000 sq. ft. on varied levels with ramps and all kinds of doors and openings; with a main street that runs throughout the complex, linking it to its urban neighborhood; with indoor and outdoor play areas and secluded courts.

The physical design reflects eagerness for the community to participate in all activities and in the management of the Center. The community lounge, for example, opens directly off the street inviting passers-by to meet each other, to read a newspaper or book or just sit a little. The public restaurant is there for everyone to lunch—people who work nearby, parents who want to eat with teachers or administrative personnel, staff members of different agencies who need to get together. Although there are distinct student and community levels, some areas in each are shared by students and the community at the same time. The management of the Center and the atmosphere encourage integrated use. Community college students prepare the restaurant meals for school children and the public; high school students build hideaways for the pre-schoolers; basketball games, jazz concerts, and an infinite variety of similar and dissimilar business mix people of all ages, sizes, and interests.

The funding and management of the Center are as inventive as the place itself. It is the first multi-use venture in the country in which federal, state, city, county, and Board of Education funds are brought together in a single

capital investment on a ratio of usage basis. Non-education agencies put in $2.3 million of the total cost of $5.8 million. Operational costs are similarly shared by the Board of Education and the various civic and community agencies that use the facilities, each one paying the tab for its own programs and space use.

Involvement of the local residents has carried over from the initial planning to the governance of the Center. Its operations are managed by a Community Executive Board composed of parents and other citizens elected in public meetings. The Board in turn appoints subcommittees responsible for the selection of the Center's personnel, of the service agencies represented, and the like. If an agency no longer fulfills its goals, it is asked to leave.

How did this extraordinary place come about? At the conference, in his account of the Center, David Lewis who had played a seminal role in its creation uttered one of the nicest and most thoughtful statements ever made by an architect. He said of himself, "I am a technician at the service of process." And indeed, however notable the Human Resources Center is in itself, that it came to be at all is a celebration of "process." For without it, Pontiac would have acquired just one more new school in one more dying neighborhood.

That the process by which schools come into being is directly relevant to the kinds of schools they turn out to be was a point repeatedly underscored by the conferees throughout their talks. "Process is as important as product," noted Ms. Gaines. "Indeed, product will be rejected if process is wrong. Those to be affected by decisions must be involved in making them." In another context, Don Burr, who designed the open plan Castle Rock High School, commented, "It's pretty sad, all the discussions you hear pro and con on whether the open plan school is good or not. Sometimes, in some places, it may be a good idea and other times it isn't. But you've got to start by talking about what it is you want to do in a school and what kind of place you want it to be. Then, if it comes out naturally to be an open plan, you've got something worthwhile."

Pontiac's Center is such a signal example of the strategic relationship between process and product, it is a tale worth telling.

Parents had been petitioning for the replacement of a decrepit school in a neighborhood rapidly becoming a black ghetto. Pontiac was scarred by riots, by inner-city blight, by neighborhoods isolated from each other and from the downtown civic core, by blacks who wanted to secede from the school system and whites who liked the idea. Would another school, new or not, significantly improve the quality of life for its residents? Dana Whitmer, the school superintendent, and the architect/planners retained by the school board, thought not. But, in their view, a schoolhouse could, and should serve as an instrument for renewal. As Mr. Lewis sagely said, "If education means anything, it means people-building, society-building, and city-building.

It means opening the options to everybody, allowing people to respond to them freely and to create new patterns."

In short order, they moved toward the formation of a Pontiac Area Planning Council: a group of citizens ranging from the president of the Pontiac division of General Motors to Black Power youth, plus the head of every city department (a shrewd inclusion, it should be noted), with the mayor as chairman. The Council met frequently, in public, with newsmen and TV cameras present.

As they talked about education and what it is, they found they were talking about employment, about housing and health, about the elderly, about culture and the arts, about recreation. They found they were dealing with the pathology of the city, and then they discovered that the location of neighborhood schools was reinforcing the pattern of pathology. And out of it all came the idea for a human resources center—not a single school but four schools fused for racial integration, on a site that would link black and white neighborhoods to each other and to the downtown core, that would serve as a catalyst to create an inner-city area where residents could live a good life, that would bring a diversity of experience into the school lives of children, that would help people of any age develop their individual human and social resources throughout their lifetimes.

The Center, which opened in 1971, is alive and well. And it is a giant step forward in the state of the art. "However," to quote Mr. Lewis again, "it has one important shortcoming. The private sector isn't in it. That is the next big step. How do we begin to package this thing in such a way as to get business and industry in, to join them with public agencies and consumers for the total participation of all the segments of society that have a stake in its health?"

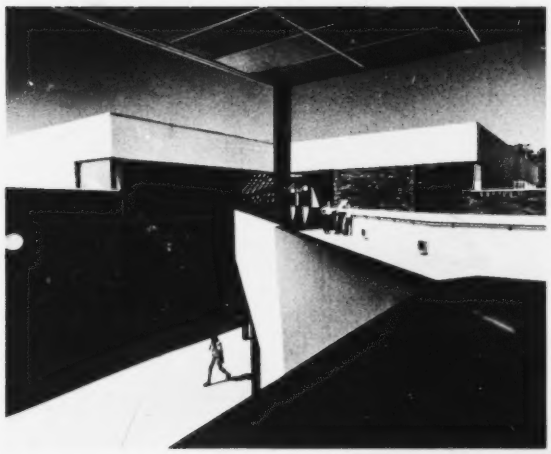
Despite this omission, Pontiac's Human Resources Center is one answer to the baleful commentary of Peter Buttenwieser. "Our society," he averred at the conference, "is dangerously and maliciously unsuccessful. How can educational facilities be designed that kids can come to from distances without fear? How do we help make kids relaxed human beings? We must teach kids that they can control and they can build."

In other towns where they are grappling with these questions, other kinds of community schools are in the making.* Two notable ones that recently opened are the John F. Kennedy School and Community Center in Atlanta, and the Thomas Jefferson Junior High School and Community Center in Alexandria, Va. These, too, are multi-use facilities that attract different kinds of people for a variety of services. These, too, exist by virtue of joint planning among their school boards and other agencies, each of which had formerly

*For more detailed information, see *Places and Things for Experimental Schools*. February, 1972. Available from EFL.

operated solely within their unrelated, solitary jurisdictions. And these, too, are buying expanded facilities and services that would be beyond the capability of single agencies working alone. But each one is its own architectural and programmatic version of the community school concept, different from Pontiac and different from each other—as indeed all schools must be if they are to serve the unique situational needs of their particular mix of constituents.

a)



Human Resources Center, *Pontiac, Michigan*

a) Exterior detail

b) Circulation hub, located in geographic center of the building, is intended to encourage people-contact. Users must pass through it to reach other places in the building.

b)

(continued)

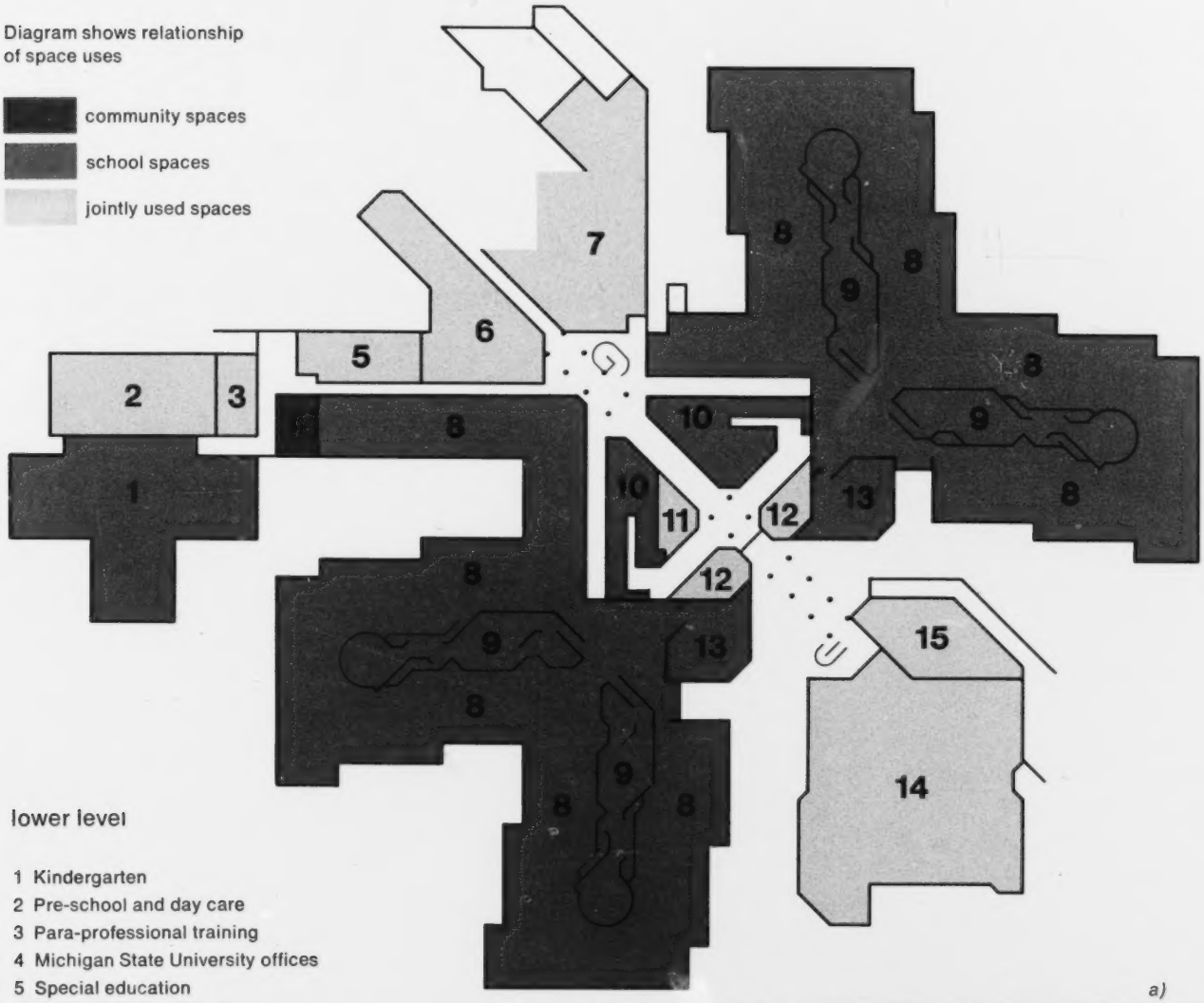
Human Resources Center, *Pontiac, Michigan*

Diagram shows relationship of space uses

community spaces

school spaces

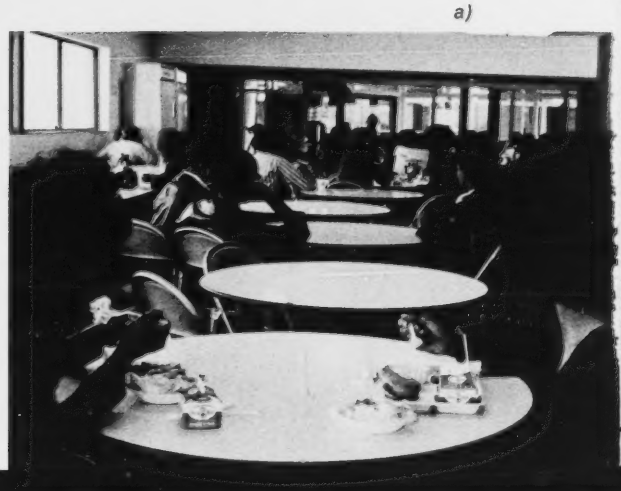
jointly used spaces

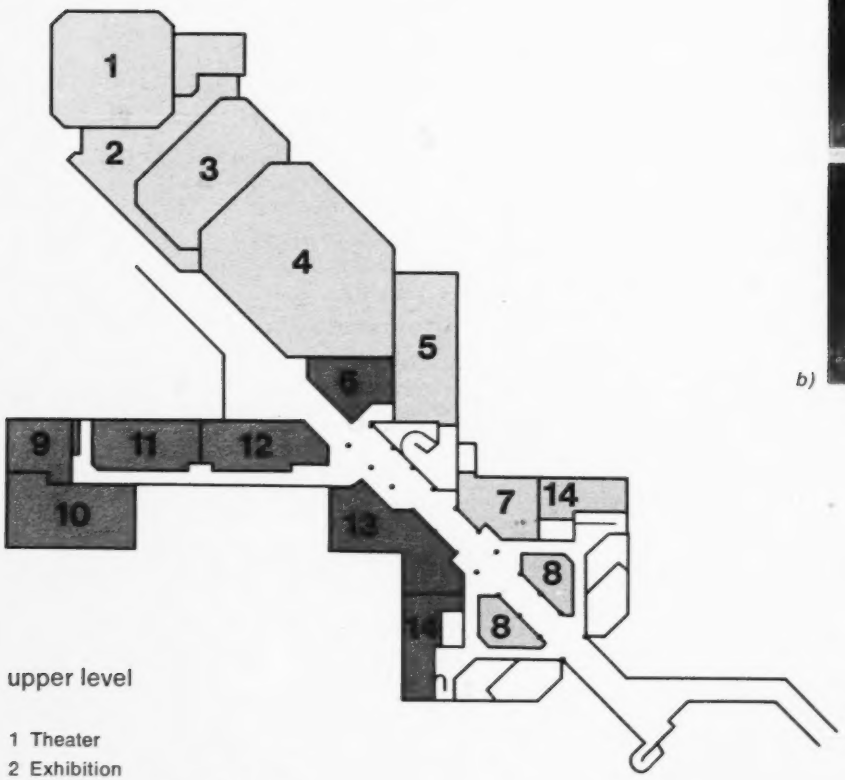


lower level

1 Kindergarten
2 Pre-school and day care
3 Para-professional training
4 Michigan State University offices
5 Special education
6 Arts and crafts workshops
7 Cafetorium
8 Learning
9 Resource center
10 Administration
11 Ethnic center
12 Mini-theater
13 Music room
14 Gymnasium
15 Motor lab

a)





upper level

1 Theater
2 Exhibition
3 Dance, lecture, seminar hall
4 Cafetorium
5 Public restaurant
6 Community lounge
7 Administration
8 Teacher and adult education lounge
9 Para-professional training
10 Medical suite
11 Adult education
12 Library
13 Public agencies
14 Seminar rooms

Photos show community facilities on upper level:

a) Public restaurant (jointly used)
b) Library
c) Medical suite
d) Theater (jointly used)

b)

c)

d)

(continued)

Human Resources Center, *Pontiac, Michigan*

a)

School facilities, lower level:

a) Resource center

b) Play structure for pre-schoolers, built by high school students in the Center's occupational training shop.

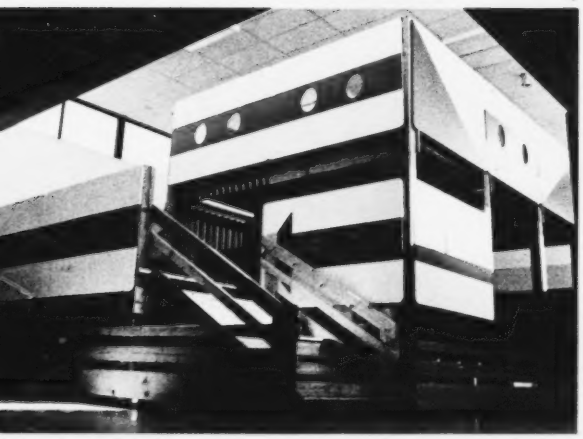
c) A classroom area.

d) Gymnasium, jointly used by school and community.

e) Children's cafetorium.

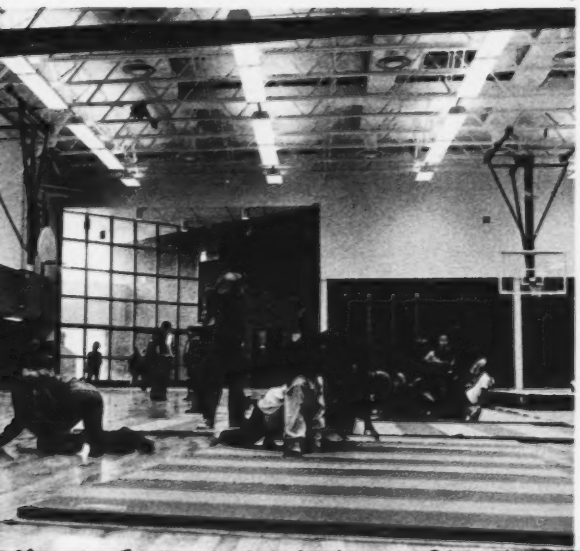
f) "Get-away place" between open classroom areas.

b)



c)

d)



e)

f)

Castle Rock High School, *Castle Rock, Washington*

...WHERE CLASSROOMS ARE VIRTUALLY NON-EXISTENT. THE OPEN PLAN BUILDING, DESIGNED FOR INDIVIDUAL LEARNING, HAS LITTLE NEED FOR THEM. IT FEATURES INSTEAD, SINGLE STUDY STATIONS AND SPACES FOR SMALL GROUP MEETINGS.

a)

a) Students come and go on personalized schedules keyed to off-campus, work-for-credit experiences.

b) Individual study stations are grouped around a "wet" column which delivers power for use of electronic information equipment.

c) Using Learning Activity Packages and learning contracts, students study at their own rate, and (d) decide for themselves when to be tested.

e) Big food service and dining facilities, rendered unnecessary by diverse schedules, are replaced by more casual food vending machines.

b)

c)

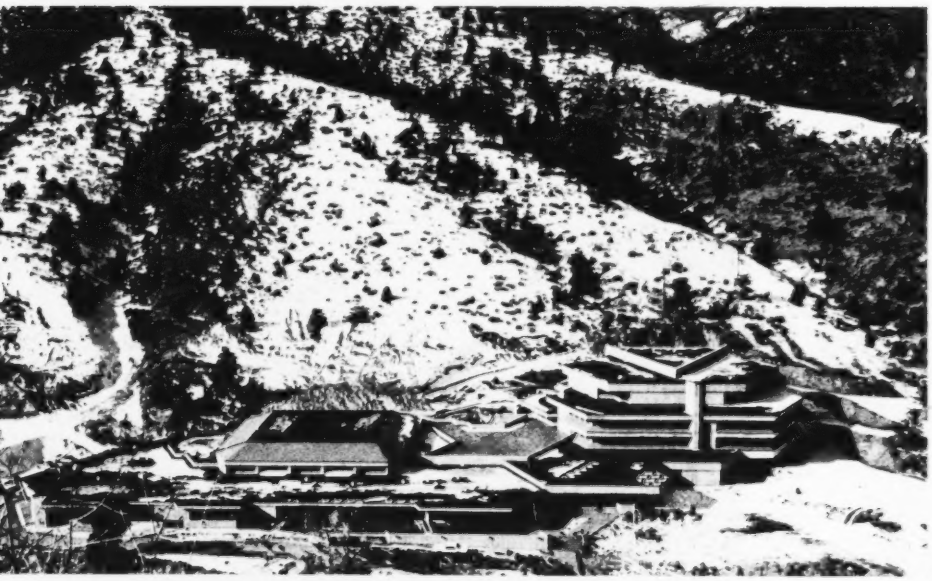
(d)

e)

Clear Creek Secondary School, *Idaho Springs, Colorado*

...A SCHOOLHOUSE, SET AGAINST THE MONUMENTAL ROCKIES, ASSERTS THE WORTH OF EACH INDIVIDUAL.

a)



a) *Exterior*

b) *A circulation ramp winds through floor levels of the building, making academic areas visible to student passers-by.*

c), d) *A variety of furniture for sitting and non-sitting recognizes the variety of postures natural to people at work.*

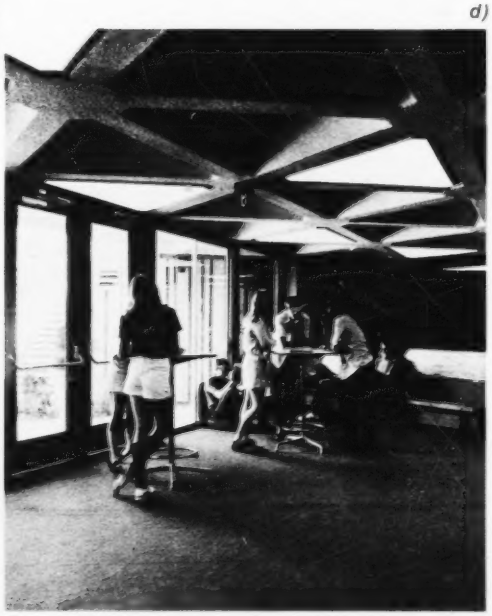
e) *Movable panels are used in the open interior to define spaces and to alter them as needed.*

f) *Personal turf: a lockable student unit contains one's own desk, shelving, pin-up, and storage spaces.*

b)

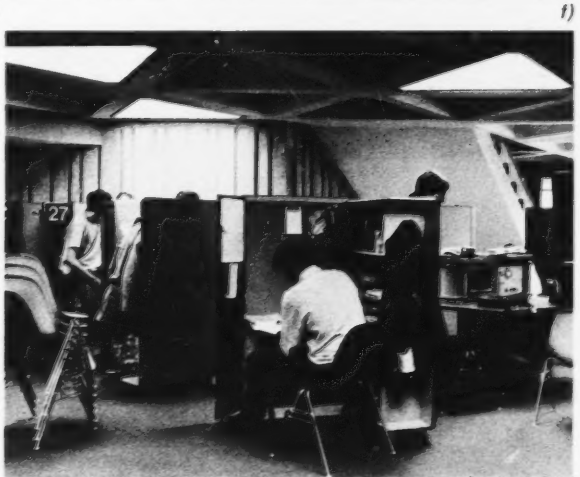
c)

d)



e)

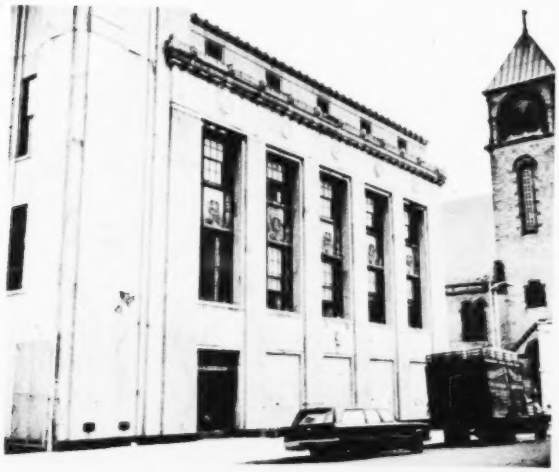
f)



500 Pacific Alternative High School, *Brooklyn, New York*

...FOUND SPACE—A FORMER PRINTING PLANT—RECYCLED TO SERVE AS A CITY SCHOOL. FREE OF THE INSTITUTIONAL STING OF CONVENTIONAL SCHOOLHOUSES, IT EVOKES POSITIVE STUDENT ATTITUDES.

a)



a) Building exterior.

b), c), d) A typing class, seminar, and videotaping session are among the functions easily accommodated in the flexible loft interior.

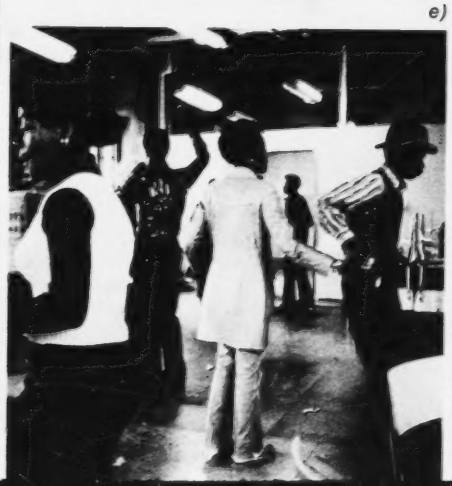
e), f) Lunch hour dancing and basketball play in academic areas typify the freer, relaxed use of the facility.

b)

c)

d)

e)



f)

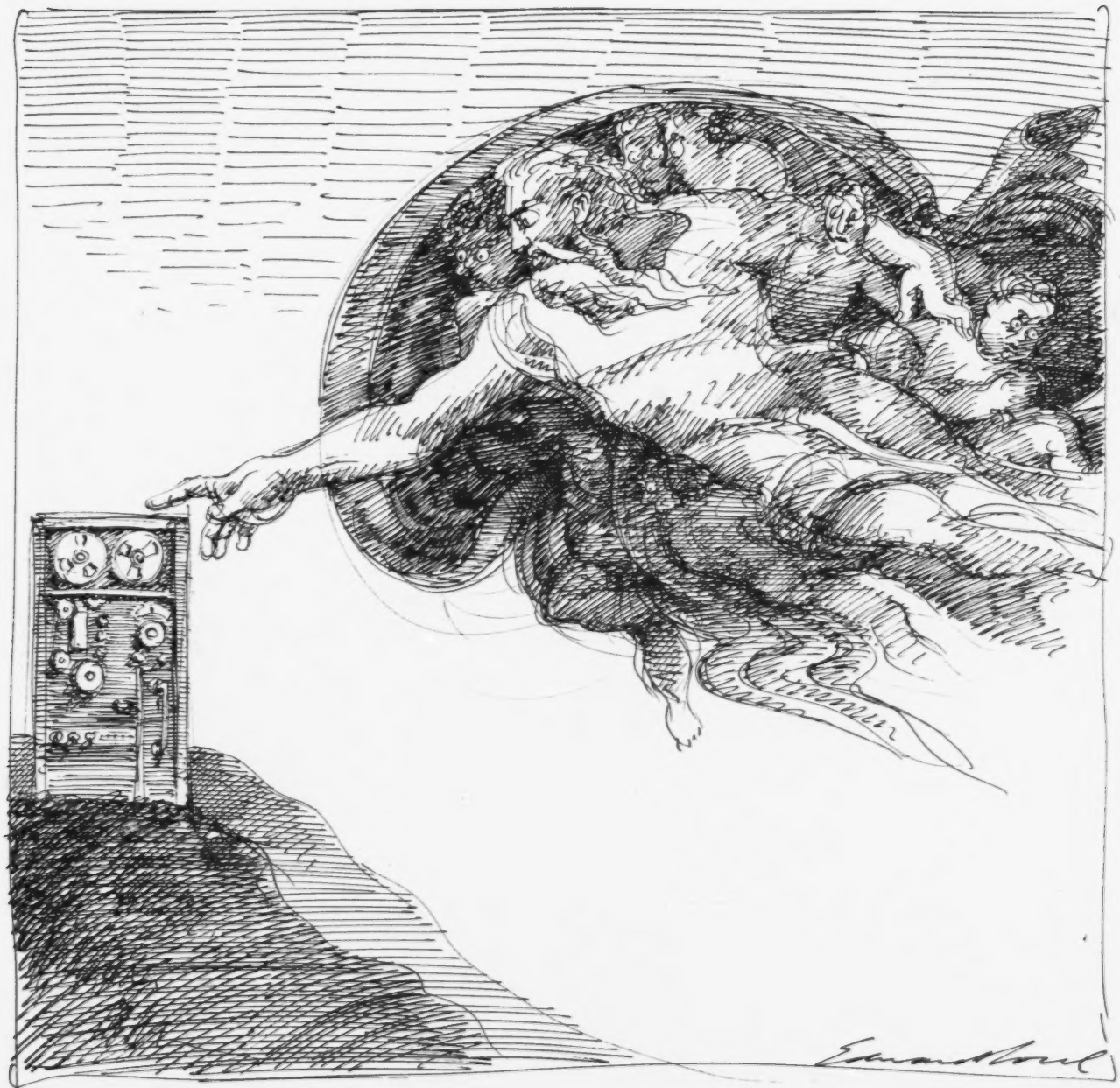
St. Paul Open School, *St. Paul, Minnesota*

. . . AN ALTERNATIVE SCHOOL, CONVERTED FROM AN OLD FACTORY, EXUBERANTLY EXPRESSES A FEELING OF POSSESSION BY ITS USERS. IT IS A PEOPLE PLACE, A LEARNING, AND A FUN PLACE.

General rehabilitation of the building, including painting, graphics, donating and collecting furniture, was done by parent and student volunteers working under the guidance of an architect. The school, for youngsters of kindergarten age to 12th grade, is a free school within the St. Paul public system.

And God created the Organization
and gave It dominion over man. —
Genesis 1, 30A, Subparagraph VIII.

PETER TOWNSEND
Up The Organization



VI. All about change

CHANGING the ways of established institutions, as psychologist/social designer Richard Farson, once said, "is like kicking a big mountain of mashed potatoes."

Though fresh ideas may be acted upon in the schools and innovations launched, somehow they do not take hold. In some cases, they sputter out after a short life in the places where they were started. In others, they develop successfully but become encapsulated; word of them is broadcast, but the ideas are not picked up elsewhere. In still other cases, innovations are bought to keep up with the Joneses. They are applied like a cosmetic and the surface is given a sheen, but the substance remains unaltered.

As EFL's Alan Green put it, "There are almost 19 million secondary school students in the country and I doubt if more than three to five per cent of them are in any way touched by new programs." (He might have added, untouched even by such *old* "new" programs of the sixties as team teaching, flexible scheduling, independent study, and the like.) "At this moment, the vast majority of students are sitting in tablet arm chairs in groups of 25 to 30, faced by a teacher who is imparting information. Every 50 minutes a bell will ring and they will move to another chair and another group faced by another teacher."

Or, as Robert Binswanger, of the U.S. Office of Education, said about the humanizing of high schools, "There isn't much that changes there, either. In 1967 Virginia's Montgomery County Board of Education was challenged by students, and the issue was an underground newspaper. The students won, without faculty help or parental help, without, in fact, Civil Liberties Union help. They won their battle, but it would be fair to say not a thing has changed in the totality of the Montgomery County system. And that's typical."

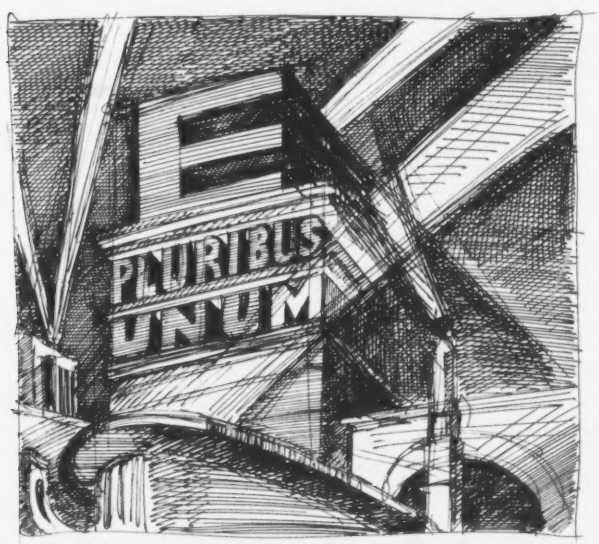
Understandably then, the subject of how to make changes in the schools—how to get them started, make them work, and make them stick—became an Airlie House theme that would not, could not, be confined to the specific sessions. All talk, whatever the scheduled subject, was laced through with talk of ways to effect change. These approaches to change, in fact, were often inseparable from the substance of the new programs discussed.

The views expressed, although not always in agreement, have a special force: coming as they do from experienced public school in-fighters, old hands at the game, they transcend mere theoretical speculation.

1. Money: an overrated issue

MONEY, it was felt, is overrated as an instrument of change. It doesn't require federal funding to initiate a program in ecology or consumer education, to offer relevant curriculum, or out-of-school programs. What it takes is getting people to stop doing what they do habitually, and do something else. This doesn't mean that change is always possible without money, but the prevailing attitude which says, "money first and then we'll produce change," is diversionary. There is no record to support the view that dollars, whether they come from government or private philanthropy, provide an effective way to approach reform in the United States. (For an important exception, see page 77.)

Moreover, there is an illusion about *how much* money it costs for new approaches. Evidence indicates that if people care about what they're doing, they will devote endless hours and make sacrifices—a factor that breeds the respect not only of students, but of the community as well.



We've been looking at The Ford Foundation experience of the late fifties up through the sixties. At that time we supported, with big funds in terms of private philanthropy, a whole set of new adventures in the secondary schools called the Comprehensive School Improvement Program. That program, some $40 million, focused in a few places. It grew out of our experience of the fifties when we supported only isolated experimental efforts with bits and pieces of ideas. In the sixties, the Foundation said 'Look, we're not getting anywhere with this, so let's try to take these ideas like team teaching, individual study, teacher aides, and so forth, and let's pick a few places and give people enough support that they can put them all into operation at the same time in a comprehensive school change program.' We did that. Now we've just completed a retrospective look at those places and though I don't want to oversimplify, it's not unfair to say we don't think we proved very much.

HAROLD HOWE

We all live with these illusions about how much money it costs to do things. We've got a consumer protection department in Connecticut which says it can't decentralize because it would cost $2 million. We say, 'we'll show you how to decentralize and set up consumer complaint centers in every city for $50,000. We'll pay the people as we do on our own staff. We have a $50,000 budget and people work for an average of $4,000 a year — lawyers, scientists, organizers, etc.' You don't have to pay someone $22,500 to establish an out-of-school program for students.

TOBY MOFFETT

2. Charisma: don't depend on it

CHARISMATIC leadership is important to inspire and launch new programs, but, like love, it's not enough. The record is replete with innovations that worked so long as charismatic leaders were present, and failed when they departed. Creative leaders in education are characteristically rewarded by being assigned elsewhere—to something bigger, more important, more involved. When they go, so does the strength of the experiment. Reform, if it is to take root, needs more than an individual with an idea and charm. It needs student input, faculty input, and parent input.

What we've tried to do in the Office of Education Experimental Schools Program is avoid the projects that have charismatic leadership. We already know they're going to be successful as long as the charisma is there and they're not going to be after the charisma leaves.

ROBERT BINSWANGER

3. Death due to unnatural causes

ALTERNATIVE programs often die because they are done in, subtly or overtly, by those in the system who are not involved in them. At their inception, new programs frequently enjoy special position and the benefits of additional resources and support. The system being what it is, those in older programs lacking access to these advantages, turn resentful. The psychological dynamics are such that those not identified with what is new and acclaimed feel they have been relegated to the inferior and the passé. If they're not "in," they're "out," and consciously or subconsciously, they beat the program down. Thus, alternatives that proceed in low key, with a minimum of hoopla, have a better chance of survival. By extension, so do programs operated outside of the established system.

Say 'alternative school, free school, experimental school,' and somebody's going to kill it. Why? Because all of the other things take on nasty implications. If you're not the alternative, you're not much good.

EDYTHE GAINES

4. The fad thing

THE HOOPLA that sometimes accompanies experimental programs subverts them in other ways, too. New ideas need time for trial and error, for kinks to be discovered and straightened. The excess publicity and premature claims for new programs rob them of the time and climate for sound development.

The other side of the coin is the quick, facile replication of highly publicized new ideas, with little commitment to their underlying concepts. Because such replications are really concerned with fashion rather than substance, they are usually doomed to failure. The failure costs time and money. Moreover, it discredits efforts at innovation and thereby militates against real change.

I'll argue there is no such thing as the Parkway School and there never was; that the concept behind Parkway never had a chance to bloom and the term, 'Parkway,' became a cliche too readily picked up; that the persons most responsible for trying the basic idea were out of that program before it could take hold; that those responsible for moving in to take over the idea reinterpreted it in a different way; that the community itself was just hit by too much publicity on this great innovation.

Now there are allegedly 107 Parkway schools around the United States, but if one takes the time to look at those schools, he will find they're Parkway in name only and the concept is being used to replace the expenditure of capital funds. They're merely a facilities switch with no commitment to the basic concept. The overfocus, the excess publicity about what Parkway could do before the experiment even got off the ground, leads to the kinds of fads that have gone on before and continue to go on in secondary education.

ROBERT BINSWANGER

5. The 100 per cent syndrome

ONE BARRIER to change is the notion that anything new must be introduced across the board to *all* the schools everywhere within a district. This is a "teacher syndrome." With teachers, 100 per cent is always best so that's what we must aim for. In large systems with many schools where budgets will not stretch that far, the syndrome inhibits even piecemeal change. But more to the point, perhaps, is its incompatibility with the provisions of various alternatives.

I worked in the Facilities Division of the New York City Board of Education for 10 years, where we have 950 schools to deal with. I would make a suggestion and the boss I had would say to me, 'That's a good idea but we can't do it.' It might have been some simple facilities matter like a piece of equipment. And why couldn't you do it? Because immediately all 950 schools would want it. We couldn't afford that so we couldn't start anything anywhere.

AUGUST GOLD

Change is not made on a unified front, but school by school by school. This suggests that change is more likely to occur when each school is autonomous, or as nearly autonomous as the superintendent of schools and his Board dare allow. In West Hartford where I work, we evolved a unique situation for district-wide change: all the schools, 14 elementary schools, 4 junior highs, and 1 senior high, are going to be renewed, with a $14 million construction program to match educational upgrading. But we did it school by school. Each principal and his faculty worked with the public whose area the school served to point out the need for improving his school. We just did it within the same time frame.

CHARLES RICHTER

6. Breaking up the institutional mold

INSTITUTIONAL constraints are a mighty force that holds people in line. These constraints function like invisible strings that control puppets, with those pulling the strings correspondingly controlled further up the line. High schools are no exception. They are caste systems which impose on students, teachers, and administrators, time-encrusted expectations as to roles and performance. Few people will dare to deviate from the behavioral expectations set for them. The majority see any deviation as a threat to themselves and the entire system. For that reason most reforms, which are internal changes within the framework of the system, fail. And for that reason, the shape of our institutions persists over time.

One solution is some new kind of institutional organism that will break up the tight mold of the high school, a fresh organizational structure that will remove from the school some of its traditional functions and by so doing, inject new life into them. By placing these functions outside the school, there is a chance of freeing people to move beyond bureaucratic practice.

One of the first functions I'd remove from the school would be the guidance and psychological functions. I'd create an independent community institution and call it, maybe, a Community Family Guidance Center. It could be part of the Board of Education, still on the same payroll, and still governed by the same people. But then, you wouldn't have to improve on what guidance people are supposed to do, you'd have a mechanism that would help them do it instead of preventing them from doing it. They'd be working for you. Their findings, recommendations, and appraisals no longer would have to be concerned with what teachers in the building think — which sharply edits what the guidance counselor is ordinarily able to say.

I'd also like to create what we've never had in education: a feedback mechanism; a center that could appraise what's happening to children in educational institutions. Such a center, because it wouldn't be attached to any particular institution, would be in a position to make evaluations. There isn't an institution in the United States that doesn't have an inside comptroller and there isn't one that stays in business that doesn't hire an outside comptroller to come in and audit its books, except education. I'd like an auditor, an appraiser, if you will, of what people in educational institutions, some of which might still be schools, are doing to the children. And that appraiser must not be beholden to a school or college or it becomes an invisible apologist for the system.

JOHN HENRY MARTIN

7. The college bind

THE COLLEGES and universities continue to play their historically dominating role in secondary education. Ironically, however, they have little knowledge of the main currents in today's secondary schools. Communication among the colleges, universities, and the high schools is haphazard and casual. Their failure to get together formally and consistently to look at students and their backgrounds, to examine changing aspects of academic programs, to promote inchoate potentialities, and to devise continuing relationships in curricular experiences for college-bound youth is damaging to all students. The effects on college-bound youth are direct. Those not going on to college suffer the ill effects indirectly.

The lack of interrelation results in an inflexible pattern of courses or subject areas to meet traditional college entrance requirements. It forces students to concentrate in academic areas so they can demonstrate achievement that will move them more rapidly through the educational system. As a result, general and exploratory experiences for students become limited, or nonexistent. Learning, exploration, and freedom of expression are subordinated to the goals of high grades and rank achievement. These are not small factors in the dissatisfactions and rebelliousness in the high schools. Finally, it curtails opportunities for personal realization and decision-making.

Coordination and cooperation by all educational agencies (secondary schools, collegiate groups, and external agencies like the College Entrance Examination Board) must be embraced if a rational educational design is to be evolved for all students and institutions.

The era of isolation, of confusion, of buck-passing and name-calling between higher education and the secondary schools must be replaced by sympathetic understanding, joint projects in curriculum development, recognition of interdependence, and acceptance of education as a continuing activity, not a fragmented package that is the prerogative of any given level.

JACK CHILDRESS

I've had a chance in the last few years to get around the world and visit a lot of secondary schools. I was most recently in the Soviet Union and other European countries as well as in Israel. I think the dominance of secondary schools by the higher education institution is a universal problem. It's not just an American phenomenon, but it's one we ought to be the first to break away from. Not that there shouldn't be a relationship there, but we have to end the dominance that is destructive. I think we may be coming to a time when it may be easier to do that. I don't think it could have been done in the fifties and sixties quite as easily as it might now, partly because colleges are changing many of their assumptions about admissions, about the nature of programs, about the credentialing of students, and so on. And as all these things are in ferment in the colleges, I believe the secondary schools should grasp the situation and turn it around.

HAROLD HOWE

8. New roles for teachers

CONFUSING as it may be to students and parents to learn that teachers are no longer to be teachers, but "facilitators," it is probably no less confusing to teachers themselves. ("What do you do at Central High, Mr. Jones?" "I facilitate English.")

To serve as a learning broker, or as a guide to self-directed learning activities, is a new role for high school teachers and it requires a new kind of conditioning. They have to learn the mechanics of new daily operations, to discover how to swing to more flexible experimental modes, to examine their assumptions about authority, and to modify their behavior accordingly. They have to learn to *talk* to students in a different way, and to really listen. Indeed, this applies not only to teachers in their dealings with students, but to everybody from the principal to the custodian. While there is some question that gentleness and humane behavior can be taught in courses for credit, these traits must, nevertheless, be a supreme goal in recruiting and training.

Since there is no significant expansion anticipated in the next 10 years that might infuse the schools with new blood, those people now working in the schools will be the same ones who will be doing so 10 years from now. This fact explains, perhaps, the emphasis at the Airlie House conference on retraining, redoing, and renewing, with school districts shouldering the responsibility for in-service training. (That there was scarcely any talk of *pre*-service training suggests that the colleges and universities were seen as irrelevant to either training or retraining.)

Most of the work of this world is done by people of average ability. So let's not ask teachers to be brilliant. Design programs so teachers can behave brilliantly. Some genius designed the telephone so I can behave like a genius each time I dial.

EDYTHE GAINES

We can't blame teachers. We've got to help them rethink their roles.

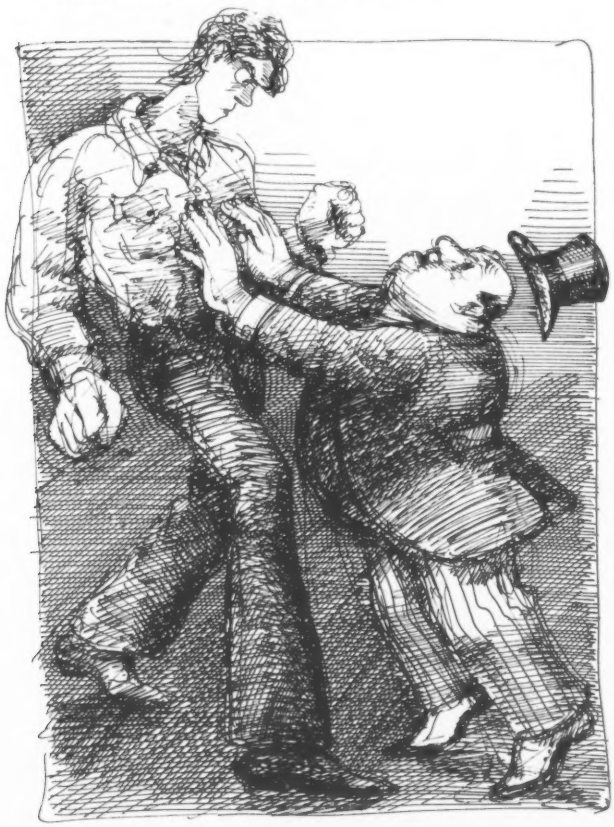
HAROLD HOWE

To help build humaneness into Five O'Clock's spirit, we set up a complete in-service program. The overriding message to the staff was this: 'Things are going to be entirely different here, and you're going to have to adjust. You don't jump on a student who has worked all day and deride him in front of his pregnant wife.' We've got to change the people in charge, including the custodian who tends to run around the halls barking 'Get off that phone,' or 'Pick up those papers.' The results were so good we've now extended the program throughout the district.

KENNY GUINN

9. Teaching as a subversive activity: a notion not fully grasped

TO CONSIDER school reform solely in terms of relevant curriculum and revised teaching styles is inadequate. It ignores the fact that school is part of a much larger political structure. If students and teachers are going to deal with the central issues of their lives, if they are going to have the so-called "survival courses" (environmental pollution, conservation of energy, new life for the cities, mass transportation, and the like), then inevitably, they will run up against the powers that be; the powers that have historically controlled the schools. To be serious about school reform requires that we stop being naive about the political realities. How do we deal with this?



When you look at what the high school kids in our Citizen Group are saying — about energy, for example — they aren't simply saying we have to learn how to balance energy demand with environmental concern. They're saying they demand a total ban on power utility advertising because utility companies are monopolies and not subject to competition. If the ban on advertising fails, they want to require all utility advertising to be on file with the Power Facilities Evaluation Council as a public service. This would encourage use of the Fairness Doctrine.

Now when you come out with recommendations like that, you're rubbing up against somebody's turf pretty hard. What happens then when the utilities send speakers to the high schools to try to discredit the groups outside the classroom who'd worked on these things?

Or what happens when students establish auto research centers? Three weeks ago one center took a busload of angry General Motors consumers who couldn't get their complaints answered for three months to the General Motors office in Tarrytown; 30 students with their families to confront the executives with their complaints.

If we're going to let people out of the classroom, we'd better be prepared for the flak.

TOBY MOFFETT

10. All schooling is local and situational

A PARAMOUNT reason why change in the schools comes dripping slow is educators' failure to perceive the fundamental requisite step. They like to focus on changes in the curricula, on revised and optional methods, and on new types of places for instruction, but these are all *a posteriori* considerations. "Alternatives . . . work study . . . out-of-school programs . . . tutoring by students . . . mini-courses . . . open plan buildings . . . flexible campuses . . . schools in found space." Advocated in the abstract, without a context, these become the slogans of a new orthodoxy. They pose the danger of becoming universal solutions to non-universal educational problems.

There is but one *a priori* consideration, and educators and school planners must come to terms with it. That it, all schooling is local and situtional. It takes place in a place, with flesh and blood people; it has a capital budget and it functions in a highly complex situation with contradictory factors that must swing together. The forms of instruction, the contents, the places—these are all secondary since they will flow from the identification of a local situation. It follows then, that the fundamental task confronting planners is to devise strategies that will involve the consumers of education, the purveyors, the unions, and the whole spectrum of citizens and issues in a product-producing process that has certain absolute, recognizable terms, and can be tested. The product that emerges might be a school, possibly even a traditional conservative school, or an information center, or whatever. It might not be good. Or it might be good one year and not the next, given the contradictions inherent in complex affairs and the needs that inevitably change. In devising strategies, therefore, thought must be given to expedients for dealing with mistakes as well.

Education is a precise interface with people, in a particular place — at a particular time — and it is always changing. Unless this meeting begins to address itself to strategies and gets off the universal solution kick, we're just going to go away with the same old stuff: kiss your mommy on the forehead in the morning, eat your Wheaties, and everything will be rosy.

DAVID LEWIS

Americans always look for the new orthodoxy. At one time it was large group, small group, independent learning. Now it's a new set of ideas. If these become the new orthodoxy, we're doomed to repeat the failures of the past because what works for the kids in Montgomery County or Brooklyn may be a washout for kids in the Bronx. And what works in the Bronx won't work all over the Bronx either, because there's diversity within the Bronx. So the only answer is to look at the youngster and be guided by what he needs. That'll lead to one thing for one kid and something else for the kid next to him.

EDYTHE GAINES

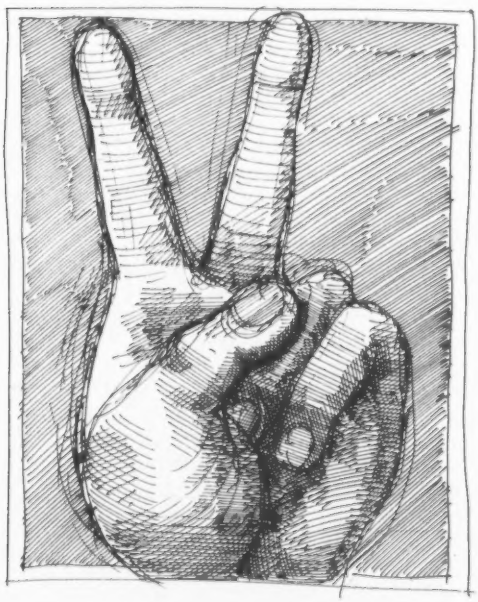
When Peter Schrag went around the country in 1968 and 1969 to talk to kids, he came back and said there's no universal that fits except one — and that is, there's no sense of a future.

TOBY MOFFETT

11. The people, yes

IT IS AXIOMATIC that educators must be in close touch with their communities about what the schools are to do. But that is routine educational administration. It is not leadership. Educational *leadership* calls for much more. It calls for creating a vision of what schools *can* be. It calls for educating citizens to the optimum possibilities and inspiring the desire to pursue them. Leadership, in short, bears the responsibility to shape the public will. This, in turn, calls for involvement with large numbers of consumers—parents, students, citizens at large.

But school leaders have generally not known how to involve large numbers of people in school affairs. And where the people themselves have been demanding more involvement, schoolmen have not known how to work with them. The result is poor understanding by the community of the rationale behind innovations, and a consequent lack of support for them.



Involvement isn't a matter of trying to sell people a project, or luring them out for something. It's dealing with the issues. If you organize around peoples' needs, they come swarming in and you get plenty of support.

TOBY MOFFETT

In elementary schools new things survive because there is a partnership with the people to whom the schools belong. In the high schools that doesn't happen. What parents go to a high school meeting very often? They're scared to death of the place. When we go, nothing after us survives because we haven't built on a firm foundation. We've made ideals of the foundations, we've anesthetized our faculties, when money was bait we grabbed it. If we don't shape the public will, we can't blame teachers for deserting a program. Teachers understand the consequences of these proposals we're making, and the consequences might be that students don't get 800 in the college boards. You can't blame them for being reluctant to desert what they're first accountable for unless someone tells them differently — and some of us don't have a card to tell them that.

In my middle class community, the price of freedom is to get the kids into any college they want to go to. After that, no one gives a damn what you do.

CHARLES RICHTER

12. Legal constraints

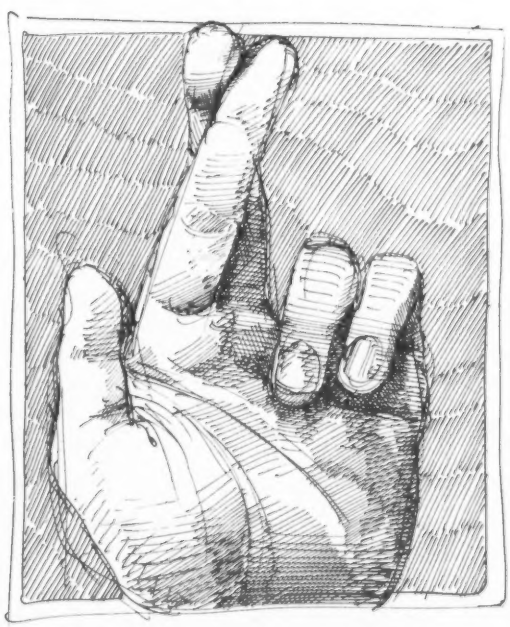
THE OBSTACLES that stand in the way of non-traditional schooling are legion. Whether or not legal constraints lead all the rest is debatable, but they are certainly high on the list. State and federal legislators tend to regard existing statutes as sacred. Loath as they are to waive them, however, they can be budged. A most effective way is money. If foundation or other funds can be found to bless new directions, lawmakers tend to be more amenable. Similarly, small school districts will more easily accept consolidation or other breaks with tradition if there is some economic benefit involved.

Another effective strategy for dealing with legal constraints is to mobilize the troops in support of change. Testimony before legislatures by professional educators or architects is apt to fall on deaf ears, especially if it means raising taxes. But if the clients—the students, parents, teachers, business men, and just plain folk—come to testify, hearing committees will sit up and listen. Preparing the way with a public relations program—good slogans, newspaper editorials, and the like—is helpful too.

But aside from legal constraints, union constraints, college admission constraints, credentialing constraints, and the host of others that operate to maintain the status quo—too often the constraints are us.

We wanted to set up three experimental schools in our state and break completely with certification, school attendance, the mandated curriculum. We had no chance whatever to get this through the general court. In fact, I remember going before the Ways and Means Committee to present our case, and the chairman looked down his nose and said, 'Commissioner, we're coming to grips this morning with a budget well over a billion dollars; we need to underwrite it in some fashion, and here you are with a pie in the sky scheme, so please be brief.' The brevity suggested by the clerk of the committee was five minutes. But when I mentioned that The Ford Foundation was willing to underwrite at least the first school to the tune of $400,000, the chairman said, 'Commissioner, take all the time you want.'

OWEN KIERNAN



Appendix

Keynote Address by Harold Howe II
Vice President, Division of Education and Research
The Ford Foundation

How you gonna keep 'em down at the school after they've seen TV?

HAVING spent more years of my adult life being a high school principal than doing anything else, I would like to commence this session with the assertion that I feel less confident about how to describe the high school of the future than I do about any other educational institution on which I might consult my cloudy crystal ball.

I am sure of one thing in considering the interests of the architects and planners present—there is little point in talking now about the physical aspects of the school, its layout, its arrangement of space, its appearance, its services, its problems of heat, light, access, and flexibility. Somebody is going to have to decide about all these things someday, but they are all subsidiary to other issues. I am not trying to say that the physical environment of education is unimportant. Clearly it is not. It can either support or hamper the activities that go on within and around it. But it makes no sense at all to start talking about the physical environment without knowing what those activities should be; and it makes little sense to talk about school activities without going back to the nature and needs of the people they are designed to serve—the teenagers and young adults of the latter quarter of the 20th century.

Prolonging these introductory remarks a little, I would like to confess a guilty conscience. It comes from a retrospective look at the 1950's and 1960's, when, under one sponsorship or another, I found myself responsible for high schools or engaged in efforts to bring about change in high schools. As I think back to all the things that were suggested in those years, many of which were acted upon by foundations, by government, and by school leaders (some of them present here),it seems increasingly clear that those of us who were trying to improve the services of the schools to youth did not look closely enough at young people.

It seems to me that the reforms advocated for the American high school in the fifties and early sixties paid entirely too much attention to organizational aspects of the institution and not nearly enough attention to the doubts

and fears and feelings and motivations and problems of the first generation of young people to move from birth toward adulthood in the post-World War II period of American society. In those years, let us remember, our society was dominated by rapid technological change that affected all individuals and all human institutions including the basic one—the family. As school leaders ten years ago, we did not think hard enough about the young people under our care—the first generation to live all their conscious lives in the shadow of the atomic bomb, in the midst of an extraordinary growth of affluence that contrasted with a persistent residual poverty, in a time of America's involvement with all the world on a totally unprecedented scale, and in a period of social revolution that reawakened, if it did not duplicate, the kinds of tensions this country had experienced in its great Civil War of the 19th century. To add to these disturbing, disrupting influences on the life of the whole nation, but particularly on the first generation to live through them from birth to maturity, was the impact of the information revolution. This resulted in a generation of teenagers who had spent more time before the TV set than they had in school and who had more information, or at least awareness, at their fingertips than had any previous generation in the history of mankind. Like it or not, today's young people have no escape from reality. They do not have the luxury, as we did, of hearing others tell how it was. They see it and hear it as it is.

The thinking we did about the secondary school in the fifties and sixties was not as related as it should have been to the impact of these influences on young people. We certainly failed to identify the sources that produced the alienated college youth of the sixties, about whom Kenneth Kenniston has written with such perception. We paid attention to teaching rather than learning. And when we looked at learning, we looked at it narrowly, asking how one acquires information. We failed to interest ourselves significantly in how youngsters feel and behave and how they attain perspective and wisdom.

Let's review some of the major secondary school changes advocated in the fifties and early sixties and assess whether or not they were really relevant to a generation of young people whose lives and outlooks were being increasingly shaped by such factors as I have outlined.

In 1959, James B. Conant, supported by a Carnegie Corporation grant, published his little book, *The American High School*, making some 27 recommendations about secondary schools in the United States. Many of you recall this volume, and all of you have access to it, so I won't try to repeat its suggestions here. Suffice it to say that if someone were to propose the same set of recommendations today to the high school principals of this country, he would be told that Dr. Conant's ideas don't get at the problem anymore, with one or two possible exceptions. Yet many of us believed in the early sixties that Dr. Conant had written the bible of secondary education for some years to come.

About the same time there developed several opposing camps espousing a variety of ideas that were well beyond anything Dr. Conant produced in suggesting radical change in the secondary school. For instance, the conservative critics of education, such as Arthur Bestor of the University of Illinois, and that renowned submarine-builder, Admiral Hyman Rickover, favored a highly academic reorientation of school programs aimed at producing an elite. Others, like Lloyd Trump, with his comprehensive thinking about ways to restructure the variables of the school (time, space, grouping, staff composition, and the like), suggested that by reorchestrating various elements of education over which administration has control, the school could do a better job for the young people. Still others, of whom Jerrold Zacharias, the M.I.T. physicist, was the high priest, sought major curricular reform through modernizing learning, particularly in science and mathematics. Their work was important, but it focused too exclusively on subject matter and existing school structure, rather than on young people and, therefore, never brought basic reform to the schools. But it was promoted widely by educators, including me.

Reformers like Robert Anderson of Harvard and Frank Brown of Melbourne, Fla., perhaps came closest to creating schools designed to meet the needs of children with their concepts about the ungraded school, but even in these imaginative efforts the focus was on manipulating the structure of the school to suit the academic requirements of young people rather than their full complex of social, emotional, and attitudinal problems.

Hardly anyone who was directly engaged in or close to the business of running public schools wanted to start with the nature of American youth, with the real issues that are on the minds of young people, with the influences that play on them, with the great differences of experience and background that characterize suburban as opposed to urban youth, and then think about developing responsive programs in the schools. In the fifties and sixties solutions to the reform of the secondary school tended to be either curricular or administrative and to have relatively little base in what some educationists have come to call "the affective domain." This three-word phrase I have always found difficult to define sharply, but my own understanding of it goes something like this. It is not the world of cognitive learning, concerned with the acquisition of information. It is, instead, the world of attitude, the world of feeling. It embraces the attitudes of young people toward the phenomena in the world around them, toward each other, toward adults, and most important, toward themselves. It is fraught with emotion. It probably has more to do with the way people behave than the cognitive domain and is, therefore, at least as important. It is tied up with the concept of "values" and related to traditional ideas of "character building." But because it is harder to define, harder to do something about in schools, we usually do not plan our schools —or at least we did not in the fifties and sixties—to pay serious attention to it.

If we continue to behave the same way in the seventies, the schools will be just as inadequate as they have been in the past, and we will continue to wonder why.

Actually, of course, it is when the cognitive and the affective come together and fortify each other that knowledge informs and influences behavior and action. The schools have important roles in both areas and do their best work when they successfully marry the two. In many ways, the values that guide human actions come from a combination of knowledge and feeling.

There were some observers in the early sixties who thought and wrote a good deal about what the real needs of young people are in the United States in the middle of the 20th century and particularly about the elusive realm of attitudes, feelings, motivations, and human relationships. But they all lacked direct access to influence the schools. Among them were Edgar Friedenberg, James Coleman, Robert Coles, Paul Goodman, Jules Henry, and others. More recently you could add Ivan Illich and Jonathan Kozol to the list. And you could do worse than take a look at Ronald Gross and Paul Osterman's book, *High School,** which opens with the sentence, "The American high school is the most absurd part of an educational system pervaded by absurdity." The editors go on to say, "The students are old enough to take care of themselves, old enough to reject the illegitimate authority of adults, old enough to love, and fight, and truly learn. To see these formidable creatures dociley submit to the indignities and boredom of the average high school is intolerably sad."

If you want a well-organized short statement of what's wrong with the American high school, what might be done about it, and what is being done about it in a few places, take a look at Chapter 8 of Charles Silberman's *Crisis in the Classroom.*** What's more, he strikes a note of optimism by citing some interesting examples of reform. His chapter's title speaks for a student who says, "What They Want to Produce, Not What We Want to Become," in commenting on the objectives of the high school. Silberman has the virtue of believing, or at least hoping, that our schools can be changed and adapted to the needs of young adults. Some of the authors I have mentioned are more pessimistic.

Statements about what's wrong with the high schools are by now familiar to us. Some of the people present here have coined the phrases, like the "egg crate school." Others of us have pointed our fingers at the nagging custodial nature of high school by documenting everything from the meanness of the permission slip that allows a young adult to go to the library or the washroom

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*Ronald Gross and Paul Osterman, eds., *High School.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1971.

**Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom.* New York: Random House, 1970.

to the fact that the high school is the only institution in the United States, except the prison, where they count the inmates seven times a day to make sure no one has escaped.

But the question now is not how do we find the weaknesses in the existing institutions. They are all too evident. The question now is what on earth are we going to do about it? The young people are letting us know that they won't put up with what the schools are like anymore. Where do we start to refashion secondary education in some mold that will pay attention to the element that matters the most—the young people it is failing to serve—not the teachers, not the community pride of adults, not the colleges and universities that have so long dominated the high school, not the absurd mania of both private and public employers for the high school diploma as a credential.

When I agreed to make these informal remarks, I told Harold Gores over the telephone, "Nobody knows the answers." He wrote me a letter asking me to talk to you tonight even though I can't present any neat solutions. I shall simply list some items to think about as you think about high schools with some comments on each as pieces of the puzzle that deserve your attention, if you are bold enough to try to design a school for the 1970's and '80's.

In an article entitled "The Children Have Outgrown the Schools" in the February 1972 issue of *Psychology Today*, James Coleman of "Coleman Report" fame presents an important argument that is not far removed from some of the viewpoints expressed in more extreme form by Ivan Illich. I am oversimplifying Coleman's view by saying that he sees today's schools as obsolete because they are still trying to perform the information-giving function in a society so rich with information sources that the schools should no longer have the same role for this purpose that they did 100 years ago. Conversely, 100 years ago the lives of young adults were rich in daily experiences that made them valued and productive members of society through responsibilities they undertook in the family, the community, and the economy then typical of America. But now-a-days these real experiences, which bring maturity because they have clear and evident value to society, are difficult for young people to achieve. And now-a-days, therefore, to quote Coleman, "the child's environment has become impoverished in opportunities for responsible and productive action or any action that tests and develops him." He is not needed at home and there is little place for him in the community either, during the day.

Coleman goes on to argue that the role the schools should perform today should be more like the role performed by the home and community 100 years ago and that the information-giving functions for which the child once depended on the school are now increasingly met by a combinaton of the home and other agencies throughout the society. But he points to the fact that the ancient role of the schools still persists, in spite of other sources of information that are more exciting, more relevant, more immediate, and more open, and

that have beaten out the school in competition for the child's attention.

"All this leads to an inescapable conclusion," he says. "The school of the future must focus on those activities that in the past have largely been accomplished outside school: first, productive action with responsibility that respects the welfare of others, to develop the child's ability to function as a responsible and productive adult; and second, the development of strategies for making use of the information richness and the information processing capabilities of the environment. The activities that have been central to the school's functioning, such as expansion of the student's factual knowledge and cognitive skills, must come to play an ancillary role."

Many people have commented that the children now in our schools are getting all sorts of information some place outside the schools and that schools fail to recognize and to ally themselves with these other information sources. I don't know anyone who has put as clearly as Jim Coleman a historical perspective on the need for a changed role for the schools. Although I do not believe that the schools can completely abdicate the information-giving role, I suspect that Coleman doesn't go quite that far either. Note that he says in the paragraph quoted above that, as far as cognitive skills are concerned, the schools "must come to play an ancillary role." It seems to me that you might consider at this meeting what kind of programs schools would have and not have, how they would relate to community, what kinds of experiences they would give young people, and what sorts of facilities they might or might not have, if you follow to its conclusion the line of thinking Coleman has blocked out. In doing so, I suspect you will be taking one route to the school of the future.

Another route you might explore is through the bewildering maze of the human relationships of the school. This involves reaching directly for the affective domain, of which I was speaking earlier. I cannot offer a detailed map, but let me point out some things that need to be changed. Not the least of them is the nature and use of authority in the schools. The announcement of this meeting describes the people we are talking about as "young adults." I submit that there is more than ample evidence that the institutions we now maintain for them don't treat them that way. Essentially, we perpetuate adolescence and create in our society a segregated group of young people whose rights we feel free to ignore and whose opportunities for both freedom and responsibility we neglect. Not enough schools have given enough thought to the idea of changing the expectations for the exercise of freedom by young people progressively as they move through the high school years. We know that human beings change immensely between the ages of 12 and 18—physically, mentally, and emotionally. But by and large, at least in many of our secondary schools, the institution treats them day-in and day-out as 12-year-olds. So consider things that can be done to make the school recognize emerging adulthood.

Ways must also be found to change the school's atmosphere and the values it communicates—to put all the inhabitants of the school on the same basis as persons involved in a common enterprise. Present assumptions about the relationship between student and teacher do not usually rest on this concept. Instead they emphasize a belief in the authority of teachers, the subservience of the students, and a whole set of attendant characteristics of a school that enhance and almost deify the regulations of the place without allowing the student any real participation in deciding how it's all going to work.

Administrative gimmicks cannot change these human relationships. The people have to change. The administrators and the teachers have to change first. I would be the last to argue that some changes are not needed in the values, attitudes, and behavior of many high school students. Obviously, some of them exhibit an aggressiveness and non-cooperation with school, community, or family (and sometimes all three) that leaves one at a loss to deal with them. At the same time, I am prepared to argue that much of the negative behavior of young adults is a response to the school and particularly to the adults who teach in it and administer it. Most students don't have either the maturity or the patience to break this vicious circle, but maybe some of the adults do. One suggestion I have is that every secondary school administrator and teacher be exposed on an intensive participatory basis to the functioning of a well-run open classroom in an elementary school. I have recently been visiting some of these, and I am appalled by the contrast between the freedom and purposefulness of third-grade learners in such a classroom and lack of freedom and lack of direction in many high school groups.

I am sure that we shall have difficulty transferring the concepts of the open classroom from the elementary to the secondary school, but there is so much promise in the possibility that it seems to me worth a major effort. I have recently been reading a report about what Russell Hamm of Indiana University calls "intra-class grouping." He documents successful efforts to duplicate in a secondary school the style of teaching and learning typical of a well-run fourth grade classroom. I recommend to you his little book, *Intra-Class Grouping in the Secondary School.**

In fact, those who work with older students might learn a number of lessons from the elementary school. Among the most important is the role of the teacher. In too many secondary schools the teacher engages for too much of the time in what I have heard described as "frontal teaching." It is obvious what this phrase implies—a teacher at the front of the room commanding the attention of the class; chairs in neat rows facing the teacher; lecturing or questions to be followed by recitation-type answers as the main process of communication; emphasis on conformity, order, and memory; only one person

*Russell L. Hamm, *Intraclass Grouping in the Secondary School.* Danville, Ill.: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1971.

speaking at a time while 30 or 35 others remain passive and pay little attention; didactic teaching at its worst, monopolizing the classroom.

The well-run open classroom in the elementary school is a beehive of activity. Students are engaged in a variety of projects. Students are learning from the teacher, from books, from each other, from manipulating all sorts of materials, from planning and carrying through projects. In the midst of all this the teacher is helper, asker of questions, diagnostician of an individual youngster's learning problem. The planning time and observation skills required of the teacher are most demanding. Translating this type of approach to the high school is no simple task and should not be lightly attempted, but to me these patterns offer a line of thinking that's worth a try.

Another way to think about the high school of tomorrow is to ask ourselves whether the competitiveness it values so highly (particularly for boys who find themselves locked into a status system related to competitive athletics) are really the values young people want and need in the kind of world we are all heading for. Some of this competitiveness stems from the Horatio Alger mythology of American capitalism; no doubt some comes from the fact that the high school in America has been traditionally a sorting out institution—a place where, until just recently, it was tacitly accepted that a large proportion of young people would not succeed and would drop out in favor of other more rewarding pursuits. Now we have changed the assumption and are avidly trying to get everyone a high school diploma from an institution that maintains many of the characteristics that helped it to reject the less successful. Among these are a strong emphasis on college preparation as defined by colleges and a relative lack of interest in a student's future career if he was not college-bound. Also, we have awakened to the fact that those who get rejected are Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, blacks and poor whites. The competition is loaded in favor of the people with advantages at home.

Sometimes I wonder what would happen in an American high school if the assumptions generally made in them could be reversed. We would then assert that the role of the school is to make students successful in both learning and self-discovery. Anything that diminished young people would be done away with. We might even go so far as to suggest that when the student did not learn it was a failure of the school—maybe even of the teacher. The atmosphere of such a school would rest on cooperation of students and faculty with the objective of success for all rather than on competition with the objective survival of an elite. Pupils would work together to achieve results in ways that would be accepted in many elementary schools today but would be mistakenly labeled as cheating in many high schools. In such a school we might even be able to rid ourselves of the silly myth that competitive athletics arranged in the usual varsity style builds character and values. There is so much evidence to the contrary that it seems foolish to continue a system that denies to most high school students, and particularly to girls, any chance for

participation in rewarding activities in order to worship at the altar of those few who "make the varsity." Of course, that altar is well maintained by the athletic fraternity which keeps it shining by perpetuating the myths at annual football banquets.

Let us also consider what the secondary school does for students becoming young men and young women in helping them to perceive their sex roles. I am not thinking here of just the obvious concerns with sex education or education for child rearing, although these are real problems and need attention. I am thinking also of what the school does and fails to do in shaping role models for both sexes and for association of the sexes. For entirely too long the American high school has limited the horizons of girls by continuing to fortify the impressions started in the family and in elementary school that only limited avenues are open to women. Perhaps in the near future women's lib will get after the high schools as vigorously as it has the colleges. Maybe before the first petition or law suit lands on your desks, you ought to think hard about the need of at least half your constituents for wider horizons of opportunity than today's schools are likely to provide.

Sex roles and relationships are only one of the pressing matters capturing the attention of young people in high schools. They are interested in and worried about drugs, concerned with the draft, hopeful but insecure about the world of work, unsure of how to think and act in confronting racial and ethnic issues, wondering whether the growth of population and the deterioration of the environment will give them a chance to live the lives the TV ads promise, and wondering also whether the TV ads really show anything worth reaching for. In all of these areas, they get little or no help from parents and less from school. What's more, the traditional approach to curriculum reform based on the tradional disciplines as prescribed by the departmental organization of colleges offers high school students scant hope that these matters of importance to them will become a central concern of the school. Maybe sex and drugs will be whispered about in the guidance office, but there is little chance of any student getting impartial advice about all his privileges under the draft act, including his right to be a conscientious objector.

If we are to design schools for young people in today's world, we may have to start from the beginning, because today's high school is so painfully irrelevant to their needs. Here, by way of summary, are ten general ideas that we might consider in making that new beginning:

(Editor's Note: Mr. Howe's ten points appear in the main body of this report. To avoid duplication, the reader is asked to see pp. 21-23.)

Let me close with the observation that the foregoing fails to explore at least three important matters that must command the attention of those who are planning schools for the future. The first of these omissions is the con-

trast in the problems of the central city and the suburban high schools. Any generalizations about secondary education must be examined carefully to determine whether they apply across the urban-suburban boundary.

Secondly, little is said here regarding the potentialities of electronic media for altering the activities and relationships of teachers and students within the school. In spite of frustrations over inadequate software, costs, and ill-planned applications of learning technology, I continue to think that we are on the edge of important breakthroughs that will improve learning and change schools.

Third and finally, we must remember that our high schools share with all our institutions the great social issue that continues to plague every aspect of American life—how to live with the racial and ethnic differences that are simultaneously a source of rich cultural diversity and a temptation to exhibit narrowness and prejudice and to perpetuate inequality. In my view, our high schools, and indeed all our major institutions, will never contribute what they might to a better America as long as they perpetuate racial isolation. Any candid observance today must conclude that our nation has lost its momentum on this issue. I hope that your discussions at this conference won't ignore what we know to be facts—that who a youngster goes to school with matters as much as what he does in school, maybe more; that racial isolation is destructive; and that the issue at stake in these matters is whether we will have one society for Americans or two societies, separate and unequal.

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